

JAINA SAHITYA SAMSODHAKA-STUDIES
***** No. 3 *****

THE JINIST STUDIES

BY

Dr. OTTO STEIN, Ph. D.

EDITED BY

JINA VIJAYA MUNI

Hon. Director, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay)

WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF

Dr. A. S. GOPANI, M. A., Ph. D.

(Lecturer of Ardhamagadhi, M. M. Arts College and
N. M. Institute of Science, Andheri)

PUBLISHED BY

JAINA SAHITYA SAMSODHAKA PRATIṢṬHAN

(ANEKANT VIHAR

NAVARANGPURA, AHMEDABAD

SOLE AGENTS

GURJARA GRANTHARATNA KARYALAYA

GANDHI ROAD, AHMEDABAD



2004]

Price: Five Rupees

[1948 A. D.]

THE JINIST STUDIES

BY

Dr. OTTO STEIN, Ph. D.

EDITED BY

JINA VIJAYA MUNI

(Hon. Director, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan-Bombay)

WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF

Dr. A. S. GOPANI, M. A., Ph. D.

(Lecturer of Ardhamagadhi, M. M. Arts College and
N. M. Institute of Science, Andheri)

PUBLISHED BY

JAINA SAHITYA SAMSODHAKA PRATIṢṬHAN

NAVARANGPURA, AHMEDABAD

SOLE AGENTS

GURJARA GRANTHARATNA KARYALAYA

GANDHI ROAD, AHMEDABAD

V. S. 2004]

Price: Five Rupees

[1948 A. D.]

Published by Shambhulal J. Shah, for the
Jain Sahitya Samshodhak Pratiṣṭhan,
NATARANGPURA, AHMEDABAD 9.
Printed by Ramchandra Yesu Shedge,
Nirnaya Sagar Press, 26-28 Kolbhat Street,
BOMBAY 2.

CONTENTS

I	Foreword	I-IV
II	Prefatory Note	V
III	Abbreviations	VI
IV	1 Settlements	1-30
	2 Fortifications	31-36
	3 Village-authorities	36
	4 Houses	37-38
	5 Establishments	38-48
V	Geography	49-68
VI	Magistrates	68-109
	1 State-officials	68-92
	2 Court-officials	92
	(a) The King's officials	93-96
	(b) The officials of the queen and her attendants	96-97
	(c) The servant-girls from different peoples	97-109
VII	Conclusion	109-112
VIII	Index	113-132

To

The Sacred Memory

of the late

S'RĪ KESHAVLAL PREMCHAND MODI,
OF AHMEDABAD

a pioneer Jain scholar, and a founder member of the

Jain Sahitya Samshodhaka Samiti

Jina Vijaya Muni.

FOREWORD

Before I was asked by Mahatma Gandhi, the late, lamented father of the Indian Nation and the greatest saint of today's world, to join and offer my services to the **Gujarat Vidyapith**—the National University—which was founded by him in 1920 A.D., at Ahmedabad, I was associated, during my residence at Poona, with the activities of establishing and developing the **Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute** and **Bharat Jain Vidyalyaya**. In the December of 1919, the first Oriental Conference of the Indian Orientalists was convened under the auspices of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute which was attended also by many Jain and non-Jain scholars who took keen interest in Jain literature and culture. Having been inspired and strengthened by the concrete sympathy of such non-Jain and Jain scholars as the late Dr. Satish Chandra Vidyabhushan, himself a lover and a student of Jain literature as well as the late Mansukhlal Ravji, a renowned public worker of Kathiawar and the brother of the reputed spiritualist, Śrīmad Rajachandra, and Devendra Kumar Jain of Arrah, a very enthusiastic and promising worker in the field of Jain literature, who had come to attend the conference, I founded on that very occasion a Society named **Jain Sahitya Samshodhak Samiti** (the **Jain Literary Research Society**) with a view to facilitate research in Jainology, and publishing of the Jain literature and I made a plan to start through it, first of all, a research quarterly Journal entitled **Jain Sahitya Samshodhaka**. Its object was to publish research articles and essays written in Hindi, Gujarati, and English.

I was able to secure, from the very beginning, a good amount of co-operation in this work, from many friends, one of whom was the late Vakil Keshavlal Premchand Modi, of Ahmedabad, a pioneer Jain scholar—to the sacred memory of whose good name I have dedicated this book—who was much enthusiastic for publishing Jain literature and who himself took deep interest in the work of editing. He had been of help to me, in many ways, in my activities of writing, editing, and making research. Whenever he could spare time for rest and retirement from his professional undertakings, he used to come to Poona and stay with me for months. He gave due co-operation to me on these occasions. I had been able to put forth efforts to publish, through the Jain Sahitya Samshodhaka Karyalaya, many Prakrit, Sanskrit and Gujarati works like the *Jitakalpacūṛṇṇī*, *Vijayadevamāhātmya* and *Taraṅgavatī* (a Gujarati translation). Shriyut Modi had established through correspondence a good contact with the European scholars interested in the researches of Jain literature and he showed excessive pleasure and preparedness to provide them with necessary books, manuscripts, and informations from India. It was due to his inspiration that the research articles written even in English were published in the Jain Sahitya Samshodhaka. He made proper attempts to procure articles and essays from the learned public. It was he who had given to me the valuable dissertation of Dr. Otto Stein, published in the form of this book, for publication in the above-named quarterly. After bringing out the first volume of this quarterly, my headquarters were shifted to Ahmedabad from

Poona, and I decided, on account of the inconveniences of the Press etc. to postpone the publication of English articles in the quarterly.

After some time, I went to Europe. Having returned from there to India, I had the luck to be the guest of the jails of the British Government for the so-called crime of having actively participated in the political movement started by Mahatmaji in 1930 for getting *Swaraj*. Having come out from the jail as I got associated with founding and developing a chair for the Jain studies in **Vishva-bharati Shantiniketan** and after that as I was unsparingly engaged in the great activity of publishing the **Singhi Jain Series**, the progress of the **Jain Sahitya Samshodhaka Karyalaya**, had practically come to a stop.

Just as I have mentioned in the preface of "**The Jainas in the History of Indian Literature**" by M. Winternitz, published as a second number of the **Jain Sahitya Samshodhaka Studies**, also the present dissertation of Dr. Otto Stein, got through my departed friend Mr. K. P. Modi, lay hidden somewhere in many a dozens of my files during my uncertain stays at Ahmedabad, Shantiniketan, and Bombay and hence it could not be easily traced out. It suddenly came up to my hand along with other similar essays and articles when I minutely looked into my books and files, one by one, which were brought, three years back, to the **Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan** at Bombay.

After a careful perusal and keen reflection of the essay I could find that the informations stored in it were very useful and illuminating to the

students of Jain literature. No scholar has done uptill now a special study of the Indian civilization as it is found outlined in the Jain Canon, has systematically portrayed it and has assessed its real value in the manner in which Dr. Otto Stein, the writer of this essay, has done.

In a brief Prefatory Note of the present essay, Dr. Stein has himself stated that this was his meagre attempt in the direction and he has shifted only "some cultural remarks" from the vast canonical literature, but a study of even these "some cultural remarks" will make abundantly clear to a zealous student that they are sufficiently illuminating "to show the treasures hidden in Jinist writings".

Dr. Otto Stein had been a celebrated professor of Indology in the University of Prague in Czechoslovakia. I am very much grieved to state that he had been an untimely victim of the last world war. As the report goes he and his wife were slaughtered by the Germans in about the month of April, 1945, in the concentration camps of Poland. May God give eternal peace to their souls!

*

I take it as a pleasant duty to express my thanks, in conclusion, to my learned friend and colleague, Dr. A. S. Gopani, to whose efforts and labours, the publication of this book is mainly due and who, in addition to its editing, saw the book through the press from the beginning to the end and prepared the Index exhaustively.

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, }
Bombay,
15th, March, 1948.

JINA VIJAYA MUNI

Prefatory Note

The following lines, as meagre as their results may be, have a programmatical tendency: to show the treasures hidden in Jinist writings. Though only the combination of their indications with those of the Brahmanical and Buddhist literature, controlled as possible by epigraphical and not Indian records, gives a reasonable result: already for a description of the culture of ancient India, the literature, both religious and profane, of the Jinist is an inestimable source.

Inquiries of the present form are able to offer only some more or less probable results, but the occurrence of a term in a work of record, possible to be dated, destines (is destined) as the undated work. Without chronology no comprehension of India's past is possible, and therewith of her present time. The more dates we get on this way, the more the line will be completed: the line which shows the history of India and is at the same time the bond between this cultural centre and its periphery.

English is not the author's mother-tongue, as the reader will see very soon. May he be pardoned for all the weakness which the author has committed in the aim to be understood by Indian students.

PRAGUE, } Dr. OTTO STEIN.
20, February, 1923.

Abbreviations.

AKM—Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

Ep. Ind.—*Epigraphia Indica.*

- ERE*—Hasting's Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
Grdr. or Grundriss—Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde.
HOS—Harvard Oriental Series.
Ind. Ant.—The Indian Antiquary.
Ind. Stud.—Indische Studien herausgegeben von A. Weber.
JA—Journal Asiatique.
JAOS—Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JRAS—The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JASB—The Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal.
JBBRAS—The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Lüders' List—A List of Brahmi Inscriptions—by H. Lüders, *Ep. Ind.* X Appendix.
PTS—Pali Text Society.
P. W.—Sanskrit-Wörterbuch herausg. von der Kai. Akademie der Wissenschaften, bearbeitet von O. Boehtlingk und R. Roth.
SBE—Sacred Books of the East.
SPA—Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
SIVA—Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse.
 Zachariae, Beiträge—Beiträge zur indischen Lexikographie von Th. Zachariae, Berlin 1883.
ZDMG—Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
Kalpas. I.—*Kalpasūtra* ed. W. Schubring, Indica Heft 2, Leipzig 1905.
Kalpas. II.—*Kalpasūtra* ed. H. Jacobi, AKM VII, 1881.
Pkt.—Prākṛt.
Skt.—Samskr̥t.

JAINIST STUDIES.

Some Cultural Remarks From Jaina-Works.

*

THE INCOMPLETENESS of Indian history we get in literature, compels the student to look for means of obtaining reasonable results of determining a fact or the time of a poetical or scientific work. When the most important proofs, viz., the inscriptions, are missing, perhaps one possibility would be to study in detail institutions, both public and private, customs, and ritual prescriptions, in short, the indications of cultural life.

In the following lines there is a slight attempt of an investigation from Jain works in the above-mentioned sense.

I

1. SETTLEMENTS.

In many places of the Jaina-canon, there occurs an enumeration of settlements, more or less changed in number and order, but always the same expressions, a so called *gāma*.

It is evident that *Ācār.*, *Sūtrakṛt.*, and *Kalpās.* I go together in the first five places, but differ in the others; *Aup.* I. agrees well in the first five with *Kalpās.* II. The longest list is given in *Utt.*; in *Aup.* II. we have twice *āgara*, but it is hardly meant to be an independent word. First a synopsis of these expressions is wanted.

*Ācar.*¹

- 1 gāma
- 2 nagara
- 3 kheḍa
- 4 kabbada
- 5 maḍamba
- 6 paṭṭaṇa
- 7 dopamuha
- 8 āgara
- 9 āsama
- 10 saṃnivesa
- 11 nigama
- 12 rāyahāṇi

*Kalpas. I.*³

- 1 gāma
- 2 nagara
- 3 kheḍa
- 4 kavvaḍa
- 5 maḍamba
- 6 paṭṭaṇa
- 7 āgara
- 8 dopamuha
- 9 nigama
- 10 rāyahāṇi
- 11 āsama
- 12 saṃnivesa
- 13 saṃvāha
- 14 ghosa
- 15 aṃsiya
- 16 puḍabheyaṇa

*Sūtrakṛt.*²

- 1 gāma
- 2 nagara
- 3 kheḍa
- 4 kavvaḍa
- 5 maḍamba
- 6 dopamuha
- 7 paṭṭaṇa
- 8 āsama
- 9 saṃnivesa
- 10 nigama
- 11 rāyahāṇi

*Kalpas. II.*¹

- 1 gāma
- 2 āgara
- 3 nagara
- 4 kheḍa
- 5 kabbada
- 6 maḍamba
- 7 dopamuha
- 8 paṭṭaṇa
- 9 āsama
- 10 saṃbāha
- 11 saṃnivesa

1 *Āyuraṃgasūtra*, ed. H. Jacobi, PTS London 1882, I, 7, 6.
 2 *Sūyagaḍaṃgasūtra*, ed. Nirṇayasāgara, Bombay 1880, II, 2, 13.
 3 *Kalpasūtra*, ed. W. Schubring, Indica, Heft 2, Leipzig 1905, I, 6.
 4 The *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu, ed. H. Jacobi, AKM VII (1879), 89.

Aup. I.³

- 1 gāma
- 2 āgara
- 3 nagara
- 4 kheda
- 5 kabbada
- 6 doṇamuha
- 7 maḍamba
- 8 paṭṭana
- 9 āsama
- 10 nigama
- 11 saṃvāha
- 12 sannivesa

Aup. II⁶

- 1 gāma
- 2 āgara
- 3 nagara
- 4 nigama
- 5 rāyahāṇi
- 6 kheda
- 7 kabbada
- 8 doṇamuha
- 9 maḍamba
- 10 paṭṭana
- 11 āgara
- 12 saṃvāha
- 13 sannivesa

Utt.⁷

- | | |
|------------|------------------|
| 1 gāma | 12 saṃbāha |
| 2 nagara | 13 āsama |
| 3 rāyahāṇi | 14 vihāra |
| 4 nīgama | 15 sannivesa |
| 5 āgara | 16 samāya |
| 6 palli | 17 ghosa |
| 7 kheda | 18 thala |
| 8 kabbada | 19 senākhamdāra |
| 9 doṇamuha | 20 sattha |
| 10 paṭṭana | 21 saṃvattakotta |
| 11 maḍamba | |

1. gāma. The *Dīpikā* on *Sūtrakṛt.* explains gāma with vṛtyāvṛtaḥ; the *Utt.-Comm.* has: bhikṣārthaṃ sādhuṃ bhramati grāme guṇān grasatīti grāmas tasmin grāme athavā grasati sahate aṣṭādaśavidhaṃ karam iti grāmas tasmin athavā kaṇṭaka-vāṭakāvṛto janānāṃ nivāso grāmaḥ. (भिक्षार्थं साधुभ्रमति

5 *Aupapātika Sūtra* ed. E. Leumann, AKM VIII (1883), § 53.

6 *ibid.* § 69.

7 *Uttarādhyayanasūtra*, ed. Calcutta, saṃvat 1936 = 1879 A D.,

XXX, 16 ff.

ग्रामे गुणान् प्रसूतीति ग्रामस्तस्मिन् ग्रामेऽथवा प्रसूतिं गृह्यतेऽष्टादशविधं करमिति
ग्रामस्तस्मिन् अथवा कण्टकवाटकावृतो जनानां निवासो ग्रामः). From
these three explanations only the third is right,
the first two seem to be vague etymologies.¹

The grāma is known to the Veda,² but its character is different from that of the Dharma-śāstra and naturely also from its developed form, about which we are informed now by inquiries³ belonging to a time which is too far from the period here considered. The boundaries of a village are of two kinds: prakāśa (visible) or aprakāśa (invisible), and they are natural and artificial. The *Dharmas*. enumerate the boundary-marks (*Mānu VIII*, 246-251; *Yājñ.* II, 151); the *Mitākṣarā* on the verse just cited speaks from the pañcalakṣaṇā sīmā in the *Nārada-smṛti* which is found in J. Jolly's translation *SBE XXXIII*, p. 266, 22 and which occurs according to the references by Jolly

- 1 Because nagara is explained by na + kara "not paying taxes", the contrary of a nagara, the grāma, pays eighteen kinds of taxes (kara). Karam saḥ (करं सह) "suffer the tax" is a quite clear, but uncommon expression; the common is karam dā (करं दा).
- 2 See Vedic *Index of Names and Subjects* by A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, 2 vols., London 1912, I. p. 244-247.
- 3 Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, London 1911, p. 158 ff., H. Krishna Shastri in commemorative Essays presented to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Poona 1917, p. 223 ff.; Radhakumud Mookerji, *Local Government in Ancient India*, Second Edition, Oxford 1920, p. 164 ff.; Ramosh Chandra Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, Second Edition, revised and enlarged, Calcutta 1922, p. 135 ff.

in the *Vivādaratnākara* p. 214 and in *Viramī-trodaya* p. 452. Further references for the village-boundaries are: *Nārada* XI, 5 f.; *Brhasp.* XIX, 3/5; *Kaut. Arthas.* p. 46, l. 1 f. The eighteen kinds of taxes which the Comm. mentions are epigraphically proved by the inscription of the Pallava king Śivaskandhavarman, who speaks from the atṭhārasajātīparihārehi (अट्टारसजातिपरिहारेहि) some of which are named in the record (*Ep. Ind.* I, p. 6, l. 34 f.; cf. XV, p. 251, l. 12 f.); thirteen kinds are mentioned in *Rājatar.* V, 174.

2. nagara. As stated above n. 1 the *Utt.* Comm. explains nagara = nakara: nātra karāḥ santi (नात्र कराः सन्ति) while the Comm. on *Kalpas.* II, gives: karādigamyā grāmāḥ⁴ (करादिगम्या ग्रामाः). The *Dīpikā* on *Sūtrakṛt.* offers not a much better elucidation of the expression nagara: urucatur-gopurodbhāsisobhana (उरुचतुर्गोपुरोद्भासिशोभन); all that is little in comparison with the details in the *Arthas.* II, 36, 56. There are mentioned vapra, prākāra (p. 146, 16.); the gates of a nagara are named dvāra (p. 145, 19), whereas a fortress has gopura (53, 18).⁵ The etymology of nagara is not

4 The *Kalpas.* II.—Comm. has in the same way: naiteṣu karo' stiti nakarāṇi (नैतेषु करोस्तीति नकराणि).

5 Th. Aufrecht cites ZDMG 28 (1874), p. 111 Brhaspati Rāyamukutaṃ on *Amarakośa* II, 2, 1: somanamdī tvevaṃ nagaralakṣaṇamāha:—

(devatāyatanaścitraiḥ prāsādāṇaveśmabhiḥ.
nagaram darśayedvidvānrājamārgaiśca śobhanaiḥ.
ityarthaśāstram (सोमनन्दी त्वेवं नगरलक्षणमाह—

देवतायतनैश्चित्रैः प्रासादाणवेष्टमभिः ।

नगरं दर्शयेद्विद्वान् राजमार्गैश्च शोभनैः ॥)

(इत्यर्थशास्त्रम्).

clear, the supposed one is agāra with Indo-European*en.⁶ In *Aup.* II. gāmāgara has an analogy in paṭṭanāgara; āgara to take here, as Leumann does, as Skt. ākara is doubtful; āgara occurs in the *Atharvaveda* IV, 36, 3 perhaps as "domicile", but in *Aup.* it could be the second part of a compound (cf. also § 70-72). The correct reading offers evidently *Aup.* I; here āgara corresponds to a Skt. ākara (mine), while the second āgara in *Aup.* II must be read as āsama sa *Sūtrakṛt.*, *Kalp.* II. do it.

3. kheḍa. *Utt.-Comm.* understands under a kheḍa Skt. (kheṭa): dhūliprākāraparikṣiptam, (धूलिप्राकारपरिक्षिप्तम्) as the *Kalpas.* II-Comm.: dhūliprākāropetam. (धूलिप्राकारोपेतम्). dhūlikuṭṭima is a floor of earth; prākāra in its proper sense is a wall a kheṭa therefore would be surrounded with an earthen wall.⁷ The *Dīpikā* on *Sūtrakṛt.* explains the word as follows: nadyadriveṣṭam parivṛtamabhitāḥ (नद्यद्रिवेष्टं परिवृतमभितः). *Pāṇini* VI, 2, 126 states that kheṭa expresses a blame, a detraction, and the Scholiast gives nagarakheṭa "a poor town".⁸ *Hemac. Dhātup.* I, 178 has grāmodhama, cf. X, 294 and *Anekārthas.* II, 85. The P. W. cites from Wilsons' Dictionary the meaning "armed". In Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* the word does

6 C. C. Uhlenbeck, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch der altindischen Sprache*, Amsterdam 1898-1899, s. v. p. 141.

7 More literally it would be "a wall of dust"; cf. *Arthas.* 46, n. 1 pāms'uprākāranibaddha (पांशुप्राकारनिबद्ध).

8 Also *Halāy. Abhidh.* II, 182 gives the rule; *Hemac. Abhidh.* 972: kheṭaḥ purārdhavistarāḥ (खेटः पुरार्धविस्तरः).

not occur and the passages cited in P. W. are of relatively recent date.⁹

4. *kavvaḍa*. The Comm. on *Utt.* and *Kaṭ.* II. explain the word *kavvaḍa* with: *kunagara*; the *Dipikā* on *Sūtralart.* gives "surrounded by a hill." The Skt. equivalent sounds *karbaṭa*;¹⁰ *Yājñ.* II, 167 shows the form *kharvaṭa*, explained by the *Mitākṣarā* as a village, from whose boundary to that of the next village is an untilled ground, full of thorn-hedges, with a distance from each other of 200 dhanus. The authorities, named s. v. *kharvaṭa* in P. W. give the explanation *catuḥśatagrāma-madhyasthala* (चतुःशतग्राममध्यस्थल) and in the *Arthas.* in a similar way *kharvaṭika* appears as the centre of 200 villages. *Vācaspati* in the Scholia to *Hemac. Abhidh.* 972 shows different words and meanings:

*Tadardhe*¹¹ *tu kāvaṭikā syāttadardham tu kāvaṭam* (तदर्थे तु कावटिका स्यात्तदर्थं तु कावटम्). *Karvaṭa* would be therefore the central place of 400 villages; *kāvaṭikā* of 200 and *kāvaṭa* of 100 villages. *Hemac. Dhātup.* I, 355 gives *kṣudrapattānam*; in *Dīvyāvad.* 87, 13; 498, 17 the word runs as *karpaṭaka*.¹²

9 The meaning "phlegm" is attributed to *kheṭa* in *Avadānaśataka* (*Bibl. Buddhica*) III. I, 279, 7; II, 113, 1 (cf. the Index II, p. 226).

10 R. Pischel, *Prakrit-Grammatik*, § 287.

11 So may be the reading, instead of *karvaṭārdhe* (कर्वाटार्धे).

12 The clerk of the MS. of the *Tantrākhyāyikā* (ed. Joh. Hertel, p. 6, 13) gives this gloss: *khetāḥ kārṣika-grāmāḥ* (खेटाः कार्षिकग्रामाः) and cites two ślokas:
viprāśca viprabhr̥tyāśca yatra caiva vasanti te,
sa grāma iti vai proktāś sūdrāṇām vāsa eva ca.

5. maḍamba. Of this word a Skt. equivalent does not exist; in the 'Utt.-Comm. the meaning is stated as: yasya sarvaḍikṣu sārḍhatṭīyajanāntargrāmo na syāt, (यस्य सर्वदिक्षु सार्धतृतीययोजनान्तर्ग्रामो न स्यात्) whereas the Comm. on *Kalpas*. II. gives: sarvatorḍhayaajanāt parato' vasthita-grāmāṇi. (सर्वतोऽर्धयोजनात्परतोऽवस्थितग्रामाणि). The Scholion to *Anuyogad-vārasūtra* (*Ind. Stud.* XVII, p. 26, n. 1) explains: yasya pārśvata āsannam aparaṃ grāmanagarādīkam nāsti tat sarvataśchinnajanāśrayaviśeṣarūpam maḍambam ucyate. (यस्य पार्श्वत आसन्नमपरं ग्रामनगरादिकं नास्ति तत्सर्वतस्त्रिजनाश्रयविशेषरूपं मडम्बमुच्यते). The insertion of the word among the settlements permits no doubt, that maḍambam is a sort of village or town. Similar to the first explanation of *Utt.-Comm.* in a note to the *Arthas.* (p. 46) we find from the *Rājaprasn.-Comm.*: ardhagavyūtatṭīyantarhitam maṇṭapam¹³ (अर्धगव्यूततृतीयान्तर्हितं मण्डपम्). Maṇṭapa is not found in the Dictionaries, and the word maṇḍapa means "porch," "hall." The *Prāśnavyākaraṇasūtra* has: maṇḍapāni dūrasthalasīmāntarāṇi. (मण्डपानि दूरस्थलसीमान्तराणि). Nevertheless we must accept the meaning of "village" or "town" in a peculiar sense for maḍamba. The proof is an inscription, no. 1200 in Lüders' List, which has been used already for interpretation by E. Leumann, *Ep. Ind.* II,

(विप्राश्च विप्रभृत्याश्च यत्र चैव वसन्ति ते।
स ग्राम इति वै प्रोक्तः शृङ्गाणां वास एव च ॥)

ekato yatra tu grāmo nagaram caikatāssthitaṃ,
mīśraṃ tu kharvaṭam nāma nadigirisamāśrayam.

(एकतो यत्र तु ग्रामो नगरं चैकतः स्थितम्।
मिश्रं तु खर्वटं नाम नदीगिरिसमाश्रयम् ॥)

13. The gavyūta is Hemac. *Abhidh.* 887 a krośa. part of a yojana.

(1894), p. 484, cf. G. Bühler, *ibid.* p. 485. The translation of maḍamba is uncertain; it seems to designate the central place of a district of a certain size.¹⁴

6. pattana. Here the *Utt.-Comm.* finds again an occasion to etymologise: yatra sarvadigbhyo janāḥ patanti āgacchānti iti pattanam athavā pattanam ratnakhanir iti lakṣaṇam tadapi dvividham jalamadhyavartti sthalamadhyavartti ca (यत्र सर्वदिग्भ्यो जनाः पतन्त्यागच्छन्तीति पत्तनमथवा पत्तनं रत्नखनिरिति लक्षणं तदपि द्विविधं जलमध्यवर्ति स्थलमध्यवर्ति च). The first explanation, which is found in a shortened form in the *Rāmāśramī* on *Amarak.* II, 2, 1, can be overlooked; the second is similar to that of the *Dīpikā* on *Sūtrakṛt.*: pattanam ratnayoniṁ (पत्तनं रत्नयोनिम्). Ratnayoni again is a definition, which becomes probable as the epithet of a sea-trade-town as well of a place for pearl-fishers. This suggestion is supported by the *Arthas* 126, 6, 10, 13, 15; but in the *śloka*, cited on p. 46, 4 a distinction seems to be constructed between pattana and paṭṭana:

Pattanam śakāṭairgamyam,
ghāṭikairnaubhireva ca.
naubhireva tu yadgamyam,
paṭṭanam tatpracakṣate.

(पत्तनं शकटैर्गम्यं घाटिकैर्नौभिरेव च ।

नौभिरेव तु यद्गम्यं पट्टनं तत् प्रचक्षते ॥)

14 The *Sūtrakṛt.-Dīpikā* offers: grāmairiyuktaṁ maṭambam dalitadaśaśataih (ग्रामैर्युक्तं मटम्बं दलितदशशतैः) "a maṭamba is supplied with thousand dispersed villages".—The date of the inscription of the Pallava king Śivaskandhavarman is unknown; it belongs (*Ep. Ind.* VI, p. 89) to a time prior to the eighth cent. A. D.

"A place which can be entered by carriages, ghāṭikas¹⁵ or ships, as a pattana, but as a paṭṭana¹⁶ is declared a place, which can be entered only by ships." In accordance with that the *Kalpas*.-Comm. says: pattanāni yeṣu jalasthalapa-thayoranyatareṇa paryāhārapraveśah (पत्तनानि येषु जलस्थलपथयोरन्यतरेण पर्याहारप्रवेशः). Perhaps a peculiar sense may be attributed to the words: pattane sati grāme ratnaparīkṣā? (पत्तने सति ग्रामे रत्नपरीक्षा?) in *Mālavikāgnim.* (ed. F. Bollensen, p. 15, 4f., first act) in respect to pattane as pearl-fisher-station and harbour. Pattana is a word occurring in texts relatively not of very high age.

7. *droṇamukha*. The term *droṇamukha* is explained differently by the Comm. on Jain-works

15 Ghatikā seems to be a kind of boat; cf. ghatikāsthāna in *Arthas.* 110, 6 and the Comm. I. J. Sorabji's Notes on the *Adhyakṣa-Pracāra*, Diss. Würzburg, Allhabad 1914, p. 51. According to J. F. Fleet, *JRAS* 1915, p. 213, n. 1, ghatikā, ghaṭi and ghaṭiṇaḥ are names for the water-cloak. cf. *ŚIVA* 192, 6 p. 240, n. 1. Supaṭṭana occurs in *Dhammap.* Comm. IV, 108.

16 A rather superficial explanation is that of Vācaspati in the Scholion to *Hemac. Abhidh.* 972, when he says; that pattana, paṭṭana and paṭabhedana are the central places of 50 villagos. *Hemac. Dhātup.* I, 962 has only: puraviśeṣah. That pattana has in general the sense of "town" and not by itself the meaning "trade-place", shows the *Arthas.* 300, 8; 311, 17, where in both passages stands paṇyapattana, or paṇyapaṭṭana, which would be out of place. On the other hand here exists no difference between pattana and paṭṭana, whereas the *Vaijayantī* p. 159, l. 6f. mentions the two terms.

and, on the other hand, by the lexicographical literature as well by the *Arthasāstra*.

The *Sūtrakṛt-Comm.* says: *dronākhyam sindhuvelāvalayitam* (द्रोणख्यं सिन्धुवेलावलयितम्) and quite similarly the *Tikā* on *Utt.* says: *dronamukham jalasthalanirgamanapravesam tat Bhṛgukacchādikam* (द्रोणमुखं जलस्थलनिर्गमनप्रवेशं तत् भृगुकच्छादिकम्). A similar explanation is found in the *Kalpas. Comm*: *dronamukhāni yatra jalasthalapathāvubhāvapi stah* (द्रोणमुखानि यत्र जलस्थलपथावुभावपि स्तः). *Bhṛgukaccha* is the well known harbour on the western coast, the name of which is given also in the form *Bharukaccha*, *Bhṛgupura*, *Bhṛgukṣetra*.¹⁷ The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* and *Ptolemaios* in his *Geography* VII, 1,62 speak about this place. The flowering of this harbour, though old as indicated by Pāli literature (cf. T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 31) belongs to the first centuries A. D. The *Comm.* on *Rājaprasn.* explains: *dronamukham jalanirgamapravesam paṭṭanam* (द्रोणमुखं जलनिर्गमप्रवेशं पट्टनं) whereas the *Prasnavyākaraṇasūtravyākhyāna* (both cited in the *Kaṭṭ. Arthas.* p. 46, n. 1.) only gives: *dronamukhāni jalasthalapathopetāni* (द्रोणमुखानि जलस्थलपथोपेतानि). There probably is but little difference between a *dronamukha* and a *pattana* or *paṭṭana*, the difference consisting in one being approachable by waterways, the other by landways. The Dictionaries cited in P. W. declare *dronamukha* as the central place of 400 villages; these sources are of later times (*Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*,

17 The modern Bharoch, Broach, the Gulf of Kham-
bhat.—About the origin of the name see *Ind. Ant.*
XIII (1884), p. 359.

Hārāvalī, Śabdakalpadruma); in the Scholion on *Hemac. Abhidh.* 972 *Vācaspati* in the same way declares a *droṇamukha* as the centre of 400 villages. From other works the Comm. on the *Maṅkhakośa* 651¹⁸ a passage from the *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra* p. 147, 11f., as the learned editor Th. Zachariae (Vienna 1898, p. 91, 28) already suggested. With the above-mentioned explanation the *Arthaś.* agrees well on p. 46, 3; in none of these sources, Dictionaries and *Arthaśāstra*, *droṇamukha* passes for a harbour; in *Divyāvad.* 620, 13f. the Brahman Puṣkarasūrin receives a *droṇamukha* as brahmadeya.

8. ākara. Except the *Sūtrakṛt.* the term āgara, Skt. ākara, occurs in all the texts. The *Utt.* -Comm. offers this explanation: *svaṇādyutpattisthānam* (स्वर्णाद्युत्पत्तिस्थानम्), similarly the *Kalpas.* -Comm.: *lohādyutpattibhūmayah* (लोहाद्युत्पत्तिभूमयः). But it would be hardly correct to accept this as a full explanation, because ākara in the connexion with settlements must be of the same kind, that is, a place, where or in the neighbourhood of which an ākarkarmānta (आकरकर्मन्त) is in action. *Ākarakarmānta* is the term of the *Arthaś.* II, 12, 31 the description of which gives a vivid illustration of the whole staff of officials and workmen of such a mine.¹⁹

18 With the undoubtedly wrong reading 'trayo mānyā (त्रयो मान्या) instead of trayo' mātyā (त्रयोऽमात्या).

19 Ākara is also the name of a town, perhaps today Āgar, cf. *Ind. Ant.* XLVII (1918), p. 151 and *ibid.* II. (1920), Supplement p. 3 s. v. *Ākarāvanti*.

9. *āśrama*. A thorough investigation of the foregoing terms we must conclude, that the last, *ākara*, does not mean the same as the others; because while the former are towns, villages in the proper sense, *ākara* evidently means an undertaking, where the people have to dwell in consequence of their special occupation; the occupation creates the settlement. The same character must be attributed to each of the following terms; these are not places in the topographical sense, they are places for certain purposes, settlements in fact.

āsama, Skt., *āśrama*, needs no further explanation. *Tāpasasthānam* says the *Sūtrakṛt.-Dīpikā*, *tāpasāśramopalakṣite sthāne* (तापसाश्रमोपलक्षिते स्थाने). The *Utt.-Tikā*, and the *Kalpas.-Comm.* has: *tīrtha-sthānāni munisthānāni vā* (तीर्थस्थानानि मुनिस्थानानि वा).

10. *sanniveśa*. *sanniveśa* is explained by the *Sūtrakṛt.-Dīpikā* as: *sārthakataḥkādivāsaḥ* (सार्थककटादिवासः), by the *Tikā* on *Utt.* with: *yātrādyarth-asamāgatajanāvāse* (यात्राद्यर्थसमागतजनावसे), the *Kalpas.-Comm.* has: *sanniveśaḥ sārthasakataḥkādeḥ* (सन्निवेशः सार्थककटादेः) A. F. R. Hoernle cites (in his transl. of the *Uvāsagadasāo* p. 8, n. 15) a *Sanskrit-Comm.*, according to which *sanniveśa* is *ghoṣaprabhṛtiḥ*. The Gujarati paraph. (to Ov. [= *Aupapātikas.*] §§53, 69, 70) describes it as a place where shepherds (*bharuvāḍī*), and cowherds (*gosī*, *gawālī*, *gokālī*) live, and travellers (*rawārī*) put up. That seems to be a good explanation.

11. *nigama*. The *Prākṛit* form of *nigama* is quite the same as in *Pāli* and *Sanskrit*; but there exist derivations in *Pāli*, scil. *negama* Skt,

II, p. 17, 16) occurs: nigame naigamānām (निगमे नैगमानाम्); the *Padacandrikā* explains: nigamo vaniggrāmaḥ. nigamaḥ sure vede vanikpathe mārga iti Mahīpaḥ; naigamānām vanijām. (निगमो वणिग्पथः । निगमः सुरे वेदे वणिकपथे मार्ग इति महीपः । नैगमानां वणिजां). *Hemac. Dhātup.* I, 396 explains nigama with puṭabhedanam śāstram vā, (पुटभेदनं शास्त्रं वा) and in the *Dhammapada* -Comm. I, 133 Anupiya is a nigama in the *Malla* country. Nigama has to be interpreted as "town", better perhaps "trader's place", in an inscription, where a gift of the nigama of Karahakāṭa²⁰ is mentioned (*Lüders' List* No 705).

Two recent books, both dealing with valuable treatises of their kind the same matter, interpret the term nigama on the seals found at Basārḥ in different

20 Cf. E. Hultzsch ZDMG XL (1886), p. 62, n. 2; *Ind. Ant.* XXI (1892), p. 228, n. 20.—I cannot but express my doubt, whether nigama in both cases has not the meaning "body of traders". First it is clear that inhabitants of Karahakāṭa are the donors, secondly it is a custom to announce the occupation of the donor; therefore I prefer to translate: "A donum by the traders-body of Karahakāṭa". In No. 1335 nigamaputa is quite analogous to rājaputra, vanikputra etc.; putra in compounds has a collective meaning, nigamaputa therefore are "traders-body-sons", i. e. "the traders-body". Cf. also goṭhī which is a committee of the body of traders and hardly that of the place. For the word cf. *JA* s. X, t. IV (1904), p. 230; *Avadānaśataka* I, 93, 6; 377, 14; II, 53, 9f.; 55, 9 and n. 8; 100, 13. G. Bühler remarks (*Ep. Ind.* II, p. 92) that pious donations made by villages or towns do not occur frequently in the inscriptions. for the last interpretation see H. Lüders *SPA*, 1912, p. 822f.

way. While Radhak. Mookerji²¹ sees here an important proof for the existence of guilds, R. Ch. Majumdar²² agrees with Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in declaring here nigama as town. Before deciding this question attention may be paid to the term naigama.

There is no doubt that naigama means a trader. So is found in inscriptions negama—also nekama—representing Skt. naigama in Lüders' *List* No 1337, where 20 names are enumerated, hardly inhabitants of a hamlet. Naigama is a vṛddhi-formation from nigama. Now, if naigama means a trader, nigama as the primary word must designate collective, that is the body of traders. Thereby we shall not forget that the the local unity may have created the meaning "body". In No 1335 of Lüders' *List* we find nigamaputa; here an interpretation like "sons of the town" seems to be quite impossible, whereas the translation members of the nigama ("traders' body") seems preferable. Assuming therewith the meaning "traders' body" for nigama one must take the above mentioned seal-inscriptions as a further proof; I cannot understand the interpretation of śreṣṭhi-sārthavāha-kulika-nigama as "town of the śreṣṭhis" etc., but rather as the "body of the śreṣṭhis" etc. But D. R. Bhandarkar and R. Ch. Majumdar are right inasmuch as they deny the meaning "guild" of the word nigama; that comes just so true as the modern board of trade would be a guild. But naigama again is not only the

21 *Local Government*, p. 112f.

22 *Corporate Life*, p. 43ff.

trader, but also the inhabitant of a nigama. In the *Nāradaśmṛti* X. 1 naigama is explained by the Comm. with paurāḥ, while the *Mitākṣarā* on *Yājñ.* II, 192 understands "sects as the Pāsupatas" and J. Jolly again gives at *S. B. E.* XXXIII, p. 153 "followers of the Veda."

Summarizing one could say :

nigama:	a) traders' place;	b) traders' body
naigama:	a) inhabitant	b) trader (member of a nigama.
		of the nigama).

12. rāyahāṇi. The last term in *Sūtrakṛt.* is rāyahāṇi, which is explained by the *Dīpikā* with: rājakulasthānam; a more complete explanation is given in *Utt.-Comm.*: rājadhānyām rājādhīyate yasyām sā rājadhānī, tasyām rājadhānyām rājapīṭhasthāne (राजधान्यां राजाधीयते यस्यां सा राजधानी, तस्यां राजधान्यां राजपीठस्थाने). The word is occurring in works which are of a relatively late date (so Ayodhyā is often mentioned as rājadhānī *Rāmāy.* II, 52, 55; II, 28, 24; *Rājatar.*, *Kathāsarits.* etc.) and means the residence of a king. In the *Moharājapa-rājaya* by Yaśaḥpāla 13. cent. occurs Caulukyarājadhānī.²³

13. samvāha. The word is found in *Kalpas.* I. and II., twice in *Utt.* and in *Aup.* The Comm. on *Kalpas.* I. explains: samabhūmau kṛṣim kṛtvā yeṣu durgabhūmiṣu dhānyāni kṛṣivālāḥ samvahanti rakṣārtham (समभूमौ कृषिं कृत्वा येषु दुर्गभूमिषु धान्यानि कृषिवलाः संवहन्ति रक्षार्थम्) the fortified places,

23 E. Hultzsch, *Göttinger Gelehrte Nachrichten* 1921, p. 40, n. 2. For the occurrence of this word in the Buddhist literature see below p. 15 and n. 41.

where "the country-people after having reaped their crops in the open country bring the grain for safety." There is not much difference in the explanation of the *Aup.-Comm.*, when he says: "a depository place in a fortified place behind a slope of a hill" etc²⁴. The *Tikā* on *Utt.* does not agree with these former explanations but says as follows: *sambādha*, *prabhūta-cāturvarṇyanivāsa* (नन्वायः प्रभूतचतुर्वर्गनिवासः). When deciding between the different opinions it must be considered that the texts of *Kalpas.* II. and *Aup.* offer also *sambāha* like *Utt.*; *saṃvāha* represents a Skt. *saṃvāha* and *sambāha* a Skt. *sambādha*; therefore we understand the explanation for the first "bringing together" and that of the *Utt.-Tikā* "crowding together." That the meaning here can be only that of a place is evident; in none of the Dictionaries the word *saṃvāha* in such a sense is found. In the *Arthas.* X, 2, 150, 152, p. 367, 3, 4 occurs the word, as it seems, in the above mentioned sense: *sārthavrajaskandhāvārasaṃvāhavilopapramattam*: *apramatto bhihanyāt* (नार्थव्रजस्कन्धवारसंवाद-विलोपप्रमत्तमप्रनतोऽनिहन्यात्). "He (the king or the general-in-chief) shall diligently attack the enemy while he (the enemy) is devoting himself in carelessness

24 Perhaps durga here is simply a locality of difficult approach, situated behind a slope. Parvata durga is one of the six kinds, enumerated in *Manu.* VII, 70 (*Mhbh.* XII, 86, 5; *Mitākṣarā* on *Yājñ.* I, 321; *Viṣṇu* III, 6); *Arthas.* 51, 2-5. *sthāpinyah* is explained also by the *Paraśnaryākaraṇasūtratyākhyāna*, see *Kauṣ.* *Arthas.*, p. 46, n. 1.

to robbery of caravans, a hurdle, an encampment and of a *saṃvāha*." No doubt that *saṃvāha* means here a sort of a place in some way fortified.²⁵

14. *ghoṣa*. A term which causes no difficulty is *ghoṣa*, "a herdsmen-station"; it is sufficient to remember the *goharaṇaparvan* of *Mhbh.* III. Here, at III, 35, 7 is mentioned a *gopādhyakṣa* who hastens into the town (*nagarāya*); at *Rām.* II. 83, 15 occur *grāmaghoṣamahattarāḥ* (ग्रामघोषमहत्तराः). Also the Purāṇic sources and Bhāsa's *Bālacarita* give a full illustration of *ghoṣa*-life. The *Utt.*-*Tikā* may still be cited: *Ābhīrapallīsamāja* (आभीर-पल्लीसमाज), expressions which must be considered below.²⁶

15. *pallī*. It is no doubt that the enumeration descends from the bigger and general settlements to the smaller and specific ones. The foregoing explanation of *ghoṣa* says that a number of *pallis* forms the *ghoṣa*; *pallī* again is explained by the same source as follows; *vrkṣavamśādīgahanāś-ritaprāntajanasthānam* (वृक्षवंशादिगहनाश्रितप्रान्तजनस्थानम्):

25 The parallel passage of the *Kāmand. Nitīs.* XIX, 62 has:

skandhāvārapuragrāmasasyasārthavrajādiṣu;
(स्कन्धावारपुरग्रामस्यसार्थव्रजादिषु)

That *sasya* here is inserted instead of *saṃvāha* is probable; may be that *Kāmandakī* did not understand the expression or that he did so *metri causa*.

26 *Grāma*, *ghoṣa* and *nagara* occur in *Vāyupur.* (ed. *Bibl. Ind.*) vol. II, adhy. 33, 10 and *pura*, *ghoṣa*, *grāma*, *pattana* *ibid.* 32, 40. In vol. I, adhy. 8, 96 are mentioned *kheṭa*, *pura*, *grāma* and *kheṭa*, *nagara*, *grāma* in 8, 106. For the question of the *Ābhīras* cf. N. G. Majumdar, *Ind. Ant.* XVIII (1912), 257.

Palli is therefore a place in a pasture-land, in the huts of which people of the ghoṣa are living or a place in the forest on the boundaries of a realm with an independent people, nearly related to the ātavikas of the *Arthas*. Philostratos in his *Biography of Apollonios of Tyana* speaks in a similar way of such clans II, 26; and V. A. Smith names these highlanders "the ancestors or predecessors of the modern Afridis and similar clans."²⁷ A good impression the reader receives by the 10. taraṅga of *Kathāsaritsāgara*, where also a pallipati (v. 137), called Śavarādhipa (v. 133), is mentioned. Yaugar-dharāyaṇa's friend, Pulinda (XII, 45), is living in a palli (XIII, 42).

16. aṃsiyā. No term is so little known as aṃsiyā of *Kalpas*. I. It is possible that Pkt. aṃsiyā as maintained by W. Schubring²⁸ represents a Skt. aṃsikā, but its translation "hamlet" (Weiler) seems doubtful. The literal meaning would be, "aṃsikā-adopting", having a share, a part; uncertain. The real meaning may be comprehended as soon as the word would be found in another work. For another suggestion we have to consider the next term.

17. puṭabhedana. This word does occur as well in *Kalpas*. I., in *Utt.* XX, 18 as it is mentioned often in Buddhist literature and in the Dictionaries. J. Charpentier has²⁹ fully discussed this term; his suggestion is that the original meaning must be "breaking through (a bank, a sandbank);

27 ZDMG LXVIII (1914), p. 337.

28 *Kalpas*. I., p. 48.

29 ZDMG LXX (1916), p. 237-242.

then the place where it happens". The latter meaning "town" cannot be attributed to the word here, because a specified designation is needed. But, if it is permitted to make another suggestion, it is done only with all reservation.³⁰

It seems to be hardly a hazard, when in *Kalpas*. I. the text runs: *amsiyaṃsi vā puḍabheyaṃsi vā* (अंसियंति वा पुडमेयंति वा) and when the *Arthas.* 51, 10 reads: *paṇyapuṭabhedanamamsavāripathābhyāmu-
pētam [sthāniyaṃ niveśayet]*³¹ (पण्यपुटभेदनमंसवारिपथा-

30 For *puṭabhedana* in *Hemac. Dhātup.* I, 396 cf. above p. 8; *Nīlakaṇṭha* gives *Mhbh.* II, 32, 14 *pattana* for the term.

31 In *Vaijayanṭī* (p. 159, 1) *puṭa* as a synonym of *nagara* occurs. *Putam* (v. l. *paṇyapuṭam*) *bhitvā* is found in the *Arthas.* 111, 6 f.; for interpretation see *SWA* (191, 5, p. 145). *Bhānudīkṣita* on *Amarak.* II, 2, 1 explains: *puṭāni pātrāṇi bhidyante'tra* (पुटानि पात्राणि भिद्यन्तेऽत्र) and a similar explanation *Dharma-pāla* (?) has in his *Comm. on Udānam* VIII, 6 (ed. p. Steinthal p. 88, n. 6): *puṭabhedanaṭṭhānanti bhaṇḍapuṭabhedanaṭṭhānam bhaṇḍakānam mocana-
ṭṭhānanti vuttam hoti* (पुटभेदनद्वाराणं ति भंडपुटभेदनाद्वाराणं भंडकाणं मोचनद्वाराणं ति वुत्तं होति।). These two passages seem to speak for the interpretation that the bags etc. have to be opened for inspection. The baggage has been carried on the shoulder, i. e. *puṭāmsa*; cf. *Dīgha-Nik.* IV, 7 (*Soṇadṇḍa Sutta*); V, 8 (*Kūṭadanta-Sutta*); *Majjh.-Nik.* III, 80 (with the reading, accepted in the text, *puṭosenāpi*); the new Pali Text Society-Dictionary p. 1 s. v. *amsa* gives "with a knap-sack for provisions" and refers to the *Comm. on Dīgha-Nik.* I, 268. Should there exist some connexion between *puṭāmsa* and *puṭabhedana*? *Aṃsikās* seem to be the settlement on an *amsapathe*, on the end of which, in the *puṭabhedana*, the baggage has to be opened. In this way *puṭabhedana* become a town as trade-place (cf. *SBH* XI, p. XVI, n. 1; R. O. Franke, *Dīgha-Nik.* transl. p. 190 f., n. 3).

भ्यामुपेनम् [स्यार्नीयम् निवेद्येन]). Amsapatha occurs again in the *Arthaś.* 300, 19. Shāmasāstry's interpretation as "trade-routes traversed by men alone" (amsapatha, shoulder-path, i. e. a path traversed by men carrying merchandise on their shoulders), is not unlikely. Then panyapuṭabhedanamamsavaripathābhyām (पण्यपुटभेदनमंसवार्पथाभ्याम्) would be a sthānīya as a puṭabhedana with mule-tracks and water ways; puṭabhedana would be originally a place, where the loads have to be opened, not only for toll, but also for inspection. Aṃsiyā would represent a Skt. aṃśikā, a widened place to allow of the passage of people going in opposite direction, situated on an amsapatha—a place, in mountains perhaps, for the travellers, consisting only of a collection of few houses.

The remaining terms are found only in *Utt.*

18. vihāra. This word is explained by the *Tikā* as devagrhaḥ, a remarkable explanation by a Comm. on a Jain-work.

19. samāja. The Prākṛit form is samāya³²; in Pāli samājo, samajjā. Samājiko is translated in Childer's Pali-Dictionary as "assembly", or "member of an assembly". The Comm. gives pariṣat which agrees with this meaning. In his article³²; F. W. Thomas expounds from Aśoka's first Rock-edict the meaning "celebration of games, or rather contests". But here, in the enumeration, it must mean a place, not an occasional festival. If, however, Thomas in agreement with E.

32. *JRAS*, 1914, p. 392-394.

Hardy, Album Kern p. 61-66, has shown³³, that a samāja takes place "in an arena (samāja-vata); or amphitheatre, surrounded by platforms (mañca) for spectators" (p. 393) and is frequently regarded as taking place on the top of a hill (giragga) (p. 394). According to Buddhist sources (cf. also *ibid.* p. 752), samāya seems to designate such a locality for amusements. N. G. Majumdar³⁴ pointed out that "samāja was primarily a technical word for theatre³⁵." Be that as it may: in the enumeration in *Utt.* samāya = Skt. samāja is a place where some festivals are celebrated. And it is, in accordance with the remarks made by Thomas, probable that

20. sthala belongs to samāya; it is explained by the *Ṭikā* as: uccabhūmibhāga (उच्चभूमिभाग). The compound word would therefore mean the high place where samājas are celebrated.³⁶

21. senāskandhāvāra. This term is quite clear; the *Ṭikā* says: senācaturaṅgakaṭaksamūhah skandhāvārah kaṭakottaraṇanivāsaḥ (सेनाचतुरङ्गकटक-

33. For Childers quotations see E. Hardy Album Kern, Leiden 1913, p. 62, n. 5.

34. *Ind. Ant.* XLVII (1918), p. 221, 223; V. A. Smith, *ibid.* XLVIII (1919), p. 235; cf. also *Dhāmmap.*—Comm. IV, 59.

35. For the care of Governments for theatres see as the reverse the *Arthaś.* 48, 12-14.

36. sthala is the complement to nimna (*Arthaś.* 140, 5) or the opposite to jala, [cf. *Aup.* § 118: jalayārā (jalacarā), thalayārā (sthalacarā), khahayārā (khacarā), the continent]; H. Jacobi takes it with the following word "camp on high ground" (*SBE* XLV, p. 177).

सन्तः सन्तः सन्तः) the headquarters of an army."

22. *sārtha*. The *Ṭikā* explains: *sārthakra-
yānakabhṛtām samūhapratiṭṭa eva* (सार्थक्रायानकभृतां सन्त-
प्रतिष्ठे एव), a "caravan-place".

23. *saṃvartakoṭṭa*. The last word in *Utt.* is a compound, and the Comm. gives this explanation: *sambarito bhayatrastajanasamavāyah, koṭṭo durgah* (सम्बरितो भयत्रस्तजनसमावयः, कोट्टे दुर्गः). The same explanation of *koṭṭa* is given in *Hemac. Abhidh.* 973 and that of *saṃvarta* is found in *Nīlakaṇṭha's* Comm. on *Mahā. IX, 57, 19*: *saṃvartam śatrapra-saraṇāvarodhanam* (सम्वर्तं शत्रुप्रासारणवरोधनम्). *Saṃvarta-koṭṭa* must be therefore a citadel or fort prohibiting the advance of an enemy. According to the *Ṭikā* it would mean a fort where the frightened people are gathered.

The question which now arises is that: of which value is such an enumeration? Jacobi says³⁷ that the "gamas form a rather questionable ornament of the Sūtra style." The suggestion that any author could have written such a list of settlements by himself is impossible. Firstly we

37. *Koṭṭakottaraṇivāsaḥ* (कोट्टाकोट्टारनिवासः) seems to be a remark.—For the camp cf. *SWA* 191, 5 p. 100 E.

38. *Koṭṭa* as "fort" is also today known. Cf. the word *koṭ* in the Darel-district, *Ind. Ant.* XLVI (1917), p. 114. For the names *ibid.* p. 43, 45 f., 276. It is hardly an Aryan word, though we have in younger texts *koṭṭapāla*, *koṭṭarāja*, cf. *Dīrgha*. 61, 16; 267, 23; *Avśādh*. I, 108, 7; *Mahāvastu*. 186, 8, 35; see *KZ* 44 (1911), p. 102.

39. *SBE* XXII, p. 72, n. 2.

find the list in six texts⁴⁰ seven times with some alterations; then these alterations again show that there existed a list, and this list again could not be the work of a pious writer, but that of a pedant or of a scholar. Of which kind in reality the source was is not possible to decide. What we see is a certain affinity existing between *Ācār.* and *Sūtrakṛt*; *Kalpas.* I. II; and *Aup.* I., II. The prolongation of the list in *Utt.* is hardly an argument for its originality. One cannot conclude from such instances anything relating to the chronology. But to look for the source and to conclude something from the age of the same or of the words occurring in the list is permissible.

There exists little doubt, that the whole science of the list is taken from a non-canonical text. That in the Vedic literature no hint is found of such settlements, is not surprising. A step forward shows the interesting fact that in Pāṇini Grammar occur grāma and nagara, whereas his Commentator Patañjali knows already II, 4, 10 (ed. F. Kielhorn I, p. 475) and VII, 3, 14 (III, p. 321) the different samstyāyas (settlements): grāma, ghoṣa, nagara and samvāha, which are āryanivāsas, dwelling-places for Āryas. Kheṭa was, as it seems, unknown in the abovestated sense, because Pāṇini VI, 2, 126 knows only the use of the word, when any detraction is to be expressed.

A slight similarity, a short list, we find in the Buddhist literature, e. g. in the *Kaṇavera-Jātaka*

40. I had no other texts at my disposal.

(ed. Fausbull II, III, p. 61; 22): *gāmanigamārā-jadhāniyo* (गमनिगमराजधानियो).⁴¹

From the Epic already we get to know of larger numbers of dwelling-places. *Grāma* and *pura* prove nothing; but *khetā* occurs here (*Mhbh.* III, 193, 10); *ghoṣa*, explained with *vanasthāna*, is also found (*Mhbh.* II, 69, 35). Of other expressions we meet *pattana*, *nagara*, *grāma*, *pallighoṣa* in *Mhbh.* (XII, 325, 17-20). E. W. Hopkins,⁴² who mentioned these settlements, remarks (p. 78, n.) that the term *kharvaṭa* is unknown to the Epic; when we find these and other terms in sources of a date, according to the *opinio communis*, rather late, and when *Mhbh.* (XII, 325, 17-20) does not mention these settlements, where the occasion is given for such an enumeration and seldom omitted; can that be only a hazard?

In the *Purāṇas* the terms occur in a quite similar form as they are in the works of the *Siddhānta*. *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* (V, 5, 30): *tatra tatra puragrāmākarakhetavataśiviravrajaghoṣasār-*

41. The same expression occurs in the *Liṅga-Nik.* IV, 7 (but the Ms. Bmr has *gāmanigamajanapa-darājathāniyo* (गमनिगमजनपदराजधानियो), cf. *śiṃhas-thāniya* in *Pūrṇabhadra's Pañcākhyānaka* p. 4, 23; XXVI, 23; XXVI, 22). Conforming to the passages above from the *Jātakas* in *Dīvyāv.* (344, 14 f.) we read: (*grāmanigamarājarāṣṭradhāniṣu*) गमनिगमराजराष्टधानीषु. *Gāmaghāta*, *nigamaghāta*, *nagaraghāta* is found in the *Dhammap.-Comm.* (IV, 108). *Nigama* we meet in *Jāt.* (I, 360; II, 209 and III, 79) *nigamāgamo* (II, 209) it is a *gavyūta* and half a *yojana* far way from the *Jetavana*.

42. *JAOS* XIII (1888), p. 77 ff.

thagirivānāsrama (तत्र तत्र पुरग्रामाकरखेटवटशिविरव्रजघोषसार्धः
गिरिवनाश्रमं.....(VII, 2, 14): puragrāmavrajodyānak-
ṣetrārāmāsramākārān (पुरग्रामव्रजोद्यानक्षेत्रारामाश्रमाकरान्): khe-
ṭakharvaṭaghoṣāmsca dadahuḥ pattanāni ca
(खेटखर्वटघोषांश्च ददहुः पत्तनानि च).^{43a} In a more detailed
form the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* speaks about the
terms (XLIX, 42-54). There are found these terms:
pura, khetaka, droṇimukha, śākhānagara, karvaṭaka,
grāma, saṃghoṣa; in verse 44f. the measures of
the area of a pura, khetā and kharvaṭa are settled.
In the *Agni-Purāṇa* are found (XCIII, 33):
nagara, grāma, khetā; (CV, 1): nagaragrāma-
durgādi; (CCXIII, 9): grāma, pura, khetaka;
kharvaṭa occurs in (CCLVIII, 18).

The *Tantrākhyāyikā* (ed. Joh. Hertel, p. 6, 1:
13) mentions: grāma, nagara, pattana, adhiṣṭhāna,
khetā and kharvaṭa.^{43b}

More stress can be laid upon that kind of
literature, which can be dated with more or
less certainty, the Dictionaries.

To begin with one of the oldest, Dhanaṇḍa
mentions in his *Pāṇiyalacchī* (belonging to the
year 972-3 according to G. Bühler in his edition
p. 6) gāmahaṇam, khadayaṃ, paṭṭam, grāmadhā-
nam, khetakam, paṭṭa (गामहणं खडयं पट्टग्रामधानं, खेटकं, पट्टं),
v. 152). *S'āśvata*, also one of the older kośas,
knows grāma (V. 464), pura (710), nigama (256),
khetā (406), samniveśa (450), vraja (626); but

43a The P. W. informs us that the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* has
the term in connexion again with pura, grāma, vraja,
ākara, khetā (I, 6, 11) or with grāma, pura, pattana,
durga, ghoṣa, vraja, ākara, khetā (IV 18, 31).

43b Cf. also Pūrṇabhadra's *Pañcākhy.* 4, 22 ff.

there is not found a term like *putābhedana*, *droṇamukha*, etc. Halāyudha⁴⁴ who belongs to the 10. cent., mentions (II, 129-131) the following words: *grāma*, *pattana*, *nigama*, *putābhedana*, *nagara*, *nagari*, *draṅga*, *sthāniya*, *skandhāvāra*, *rājadhāni*. The *Mañjha-kośa*⁴⁵ of the 12. cent. is a homonymous *kośa* (*anekārtha*) and therefore of less abundance than a synonymous; he has *grāma* (577), *nigama* (591), *kheṭa* (169), *skandhāvāra* in the Comm. on 418.⁴⁶ So we find in Hemacandra's *Anekārthas* only *grāma* (II, 314), *nigama* (III, 459), *kheṭa* (II, 85), whereas the other terms occur in another Dictionary of Hemacandra. That is the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*; here, 971-3 we read:

nagaripūṭh purī draṅgaḥ pattanam putābheda-
nam || (971) ||

Niveśanamadhiṣṭhānam sthāniyam nigamo'
pi ca |

śākhāpuram tūspuram kheṭaḥ purārdhavista-
raḥ || (972) ||;

skandhāvāro rājadhāni koṭṭadurgaḥ punaḥ
*samaḥ*⁴⁷ || (973) ||

(नगरं पृ: पुरं द्रङ्गः पत्तनं पुताभेदनम् || 971 ||

निवेशनमधिष्ठानं स्थानियं निगमोऽपि च ।

शाखापुरं तूपुरं खेटः पुरार्धविस्तारः || (972) ||

समासो समोऽपि कोट्टदुर्गः पुनः पुनः || 973 ||).

⁴⁴ Th. Zachariae, Die indischen Wörterbücher (Grdr. I, 3 B.), p. 26, §16.

⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 39, §29.

⁴⁶ The Comm. is for a certain part perhaps the own work of Mañjha. Not even the word *nagara* is found in this Dictionary.

⁴⁷ Cf. also the Scholia on 972.

Ten words occur here and in the *Amara-kośa* (II, 2, 1) we find beyond others not mentioned in the list: nagarī, pattana, puṭabhedana, sthānīya, nigama; (II, 2, 2,) nagara and (II, 2, 19) grāma and ghoṣa. In the purādhyaṃya of Yādvapraśā's *Vaijayanti* (ed. G. Oppert) (p. 159, 11 ff.) occur: nagarī, nagara, pn-ri, sthānīya, puṭa, khetā, grāma, karveṭa, karvaṭika, karvaṭa, droṇamukha, paṭṭana, puṭabhedana, pattana, skandhāvāra, rājadhānī and many others. In the Buddhist Dictionary, finally, the *Mahāvvyūtpatti*, these words are enumerated; koṭṭa (226, 1), grāma (11), nagara (13), nigama (17), rājadhānī (17), pura (18), pattana (38).

The word samāja can be traced to the the time of Aśoka it being well known. On the other hand, maḍamba is not found in the P. W., while we meet it in an inscription of the Pallava king Śivaskandhavarman, which certainly is of later times.⁴⁸ By the foregoing remarks we are entitled to make the statement: the further we progress in the epochs of literature the more we meet a developed list of settlements. And some general remarks support this view.

It is impossible that each author or compiler of each text should have invented these terms; all

48 He is also known as yuvarāṣa, successor to the throne, in Lüder's List No. 1205. For the residence of the Pallava kings, Kāñcīpura, cf. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Ind. Ant.* XLIV (1915), p. 127-9. Another Śivaskandhavarman belongs to the Śātakarṇi-family, cf. A. Venkatasubbiah, *Ind. Ant.* XLVI (1917), p. 154 f.

of them go back evidently to a common source, whereby the list in *Utt.* for instance may represent the increased volume of it.⁴⁹ The assumption of a latter insertion would only confirm the view that the texts are not the original or the unaltered writings. Finally, only a high developed state of life, especially of the commercial and of city life, would be found worthy of being taken in such a list in a holy text-book.

When we risk to express our opinion for a nearer limitation, based on the arguments adduced above, we can establish three to four epochs: 1. Patañjali; 2. *Tantrākhyāyikā*; 3. the Purāṇas; and 4. the lexicographical literature. Only with these latter two categories the list in the Jaina works can be compared: the list, resuming all the arguments, can therefore be dated back to a time hardly prior to the eighth century A. D., but an age of one or two centuries more, that is to say, the ninth or tenth century, seems thoroughly not inadequate.

49 The common source could have been a Dictionary or a formularium, what would be again a sign of the assumed late date. Such schematas seem not to have been unknown in Indian literature; perhaps also the kāvyas in their pictures and comparisons may have used them (cf. Otto Walter, *Indica* III, p. 32); for the Buddhist literature cf. R. O. Franke's translation of the *Dīgha-Nik.*, p. 7, n. 2.—That the kośas had taken the words from the Jain works is impossible, because the more or less similar lists occur in other works, because the character of the list points at a Dictionary and because also in the Dictionaries appears a certain development.

2. FORTIFICATIONS.

In *Acār.* (II, 3, 2, 14) there are enumerated some fortifications: vappāṇi, phalihāṇi, pāgārāṇi, toraṇāṇi, aggalāṇi, aggalapāsagāṇi, gaḍḍao, darīo, in Skt.: vapra, parikhā, prākāra, toraṇa, argala, argalapāsaka, garta, darī (cf. also II, 3, 3, 1). *Aup.* §1 describes the town Campaka as adorned with pāgārāparikkhattā. kavisīsaga.....aṭṭālaycariya-dāragopuratoraṇa.....rāyamaggā.....phaliha-indakhilā (पागारपरिक्खित्त । कविसीसग.....अट्टालयचरियदारगोपुर-तोरण.....रायमग.....फलहइंदखील). Parts of fortress and weapons occur in *Utt.* (IX, 20, resp. 18).

There is no difficulty to explain the terms, especially in connexion with the durgavidhāna-Adhyāya of the Kautīliya *Arthasāstra* (II, 3. 21, p. 51-54). We meet there the words: vapra (51, 16f.), parikhā (51, 11/15), prākāra (52, 3f.); while *Aup.* has the following terms in common with the *Arthas.*: kapiśīrṣaka (52, 5), aṭṭālaka (52, 9), rathacaryā (52, 5) and cāryā (52, 15), gopura (53, 18) rājamārga (54, 12), indrakīla (53, 15), dāra is found (404, 15), argala (53, 1) and toraṇa (53, 14) in toraṇasīraḥ.

Enumerations of the fortifications are quite common in the Epic and conventional, therefore this fact alone would not deserve further notice. But the following moments are worthy of short consideration: the affinity of expressions in the Jaina Sūtras and in the *Arthas.*, and on other hand the history of some words,

The material of the Epic is collected for a great part in Hopkins' most valuable paper⁵⁰; "we

have one set of phrases constantly repeated with slight variations." There occur *prākāra*, *toraṇa*, *aṭṭa*, and *vapra*; *argala* is mentioned in *Raghuv.*, *Mrcch.*, *Rām.* etc. That as well as *parikhā* (cf. *Pāṇ.* V, 1, 17) and *prākāra* (*Patañjali*, *Mahābh.* Vol. II, p. 342 ff. on *Pāṇ.* V, 1, 16) are such general words that nothing can be concluded from them. But not so with the terms, *kapiśīrṣaka* and *indrakila*.

Kapiśīrṣaka is, as the P. W. informs us, found in *Hemac. Abhidh.* (981) and in *Trikāṇḍas.* (II, 26). Besides these the word is cited in *Halāyudha Abhidh.* (V, 2): *prākārāgrepi kapiśīrṣam* (प्रकाराग्रेषु कपिशीर्षम्) just as in *Hemac's. prākārāgram kapiśīrṣam*⁵¹ (प्रकारग्रामं कपिशीर्षम्). In the *Mañ-śrīṅge* (915) *kapiśīrṣa* is explained with *bhittirāgre* "the top-edge of a wall." In the *Sābdakalpāḍ.* cited in P. W. s. v. regarding *drumaśīrṣa* (cf. also *kravyaśīrṣa*) the *Sābdacandrikā* says:

Kapiśīrṣam drumaśīrṣam tathā cākhetasīrṣa-
kam ।
iti kuṭṭimabhedāḥ syuḥ śābdikāḥ samudāhṛtāḥ ॥
(कपिशीर्षं द्रुमशीर्षं तथा चाखेटशीर्षकम् ।
इति कुट्टिमभेदाः स्युः शाब्दिकैः समुदाहृताः ॥).

When P. W. explaining the word, translates *ākhetasīrṣaka* with "a kind of mine" it is inconsistent with the common meaning of *kuṭṭima* "floor." But the reading *ākhetasīrṣaka* must be wrong. *Ākhetā-*(ka) also seems to need a correction

51 It deserves to be noted that the Ms. of *Halāyudha* have instead of *kapiśīrṣam*... *prakīrtitam* and those of *Hemacandra* *kampiśīrṣam*, which seems to indicate how little the term was known.

to khotā-(ka). The reason for this correction is given by two sources: *Trikaṇḍas*. (11, 2, 6) notes as synonymous with kapiśīrṣa: khodaka-īrṣaka and krāyaśīrṣaka; in the Vienna-Ms. of the kośa the reading ghotāka is found. The *Divyāvadāna* again, (p. 22, 21) has shodaka. In the Index it is corrected by the editors (C o w l l-N e i l, p. 692) to khodaka. Th Z á c h a r i a e already remarked⁵² the doubtful sense of this word occurring also in the modern compilation by Galanos as koṭaśīras. In the *Mahāvīyutpatti* (226, 36) under the parts of a fortress is found khotāka, with the various readings khā-taka and khotāka. There can be little doubt that all these forms go back to a common khotākaśīras, khotāśīrṣa or forms like that. The proof for this statement is in *Divyāvadāna* (220, 21); the text runs as follows: teṣu prākāreṣu caturvidhāḥ ṣodakā (read: khotākā) māpitāḥ suvarṇamayā rūpyamayā vaidūryamayāḥ sphatikamayāḥ, तेषु प्राकारेषु चतुर्विधाः षोडका (खोटका) मापिताः सुवर्णमया रूपमया वैदूर्यमयाः स्फटिकमयाः): It is evident on a prākāra there could be only cornices, here of fourfold kind. But I think, we also must accept a second emendation in the above cited text of the *śabdak.*; in note 2 on *Divyāv.* (220, 21) stands: AD read kramacīrshānipitā; the suggestion of the editors would be supported by *Trikaṇḍas*. (II, 2, 6.) But Z á c h a r i a e (1. c.) expressed his opinion that kramaśīrṣa seems to be the correct reading. If it is right there is little probability of a third reading as drumāśīrṣaka. instead of which we therefore have to read kramaśīrṣaka.⁵³

52 *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* 1888, p. 854f.

53 To explain the mistake is perhaps not difficult in respect of the ligatures dru and kra. Because of

Kapisīrṣa is known also in the Buddhist literature. Kapisīśaka is found in *Cullavagga* (V, 14, 3), *Mahāparinibbānasutta* (V, 32); *Mahāsudassanasutta* (II, 24); *Pātimokkha* (Pāc. 19). It is evident from the context of these passages, as noted also by T. W. Rhys Davids⁵⁴ and H. Oldenberg,⁵⁵ that kapisīsa is a part of the door-posts, but not the lintel, because it is mentioned as having been leaned against. These passages belong to the old Buddhist literature, in which kapisīsa has another meaning. When we, however, meet in the late Sanskrit Dictionaries and in Jain works kapisīrṣa as the coping of a wall there must be a certain difference of period between them. And also the congruence between the Jain-texts and the *Arthaś.* must be noted; here we find (p. 52, 5) kapisīrṣa on the top of the prakāra, which is made of stone.⁵⁶

In the same work, *Arthaś.* p. 53, 15. occur indrakīla, explained by the Comm. on *Rājaprasaṇ.* (*ibid.*, n. 5):.....indrakīlaśca sampāṭitakavāṭadva-yādhārabbhūtaḥ praveśamadhyabhāgi..... (इन्द्रकीलश्च सम्पाटितकवाटद्वयधारभूतः प्रवेशमध्यभागी). The word is mentioned very often in Buddhist literature⁵⁷ in the meaning "threshold." That is clear not only from passages

the little acquaintance with such rare terms the precise meaning of khotā(-ka)śīrṣa as well as that of kramaśīrṣa is unknown. They were—it seems—architectural terms.

54. *SBE* XX, p. 106, n. 3.

55. *SBE* XI, p. 95, n. 1; here is the Comm. by Buddhaghosa cited. Cf. *SBE* XIII, p. 35.

56. Cf. the note under the text.

57. Cf. the *Dictionary of the Pāli Text Society* s. v.

as *Jāt.* (I, 89); *Suttavibhaṅga* (85, 1, 3), but also from the Buddhist Sanskrit literature: *Avadānaśataka* (*Bibl. Buddhica* XIII, I, 109, 1): yadā ca bhagavatā indrakile pādo nyastah tadēyaṃ mahāpṛthivī śadvi-kāraṃ prakampitā bhagavataḥ purapraveśe (यदा च भगवता इन्द्रकीले पादो न्यस्तः तदेयं महापृथ्वी पङ्क्तिारं प्रकम्पिता भगवतः पुर-प्रवेशे); in extenso we read the āścaryāni, when the Bhagavān crosses a city's threshold, in *Divyāv.* (250, 19; 251, 12; 364, 27); 365, 15 (nagaradvāraṃ indrakile, 365, 1; cf. nagarapraveśe (365, 16); 544, 6ff. where are enumerated three indrakīlas, that of the town (nagare indrakīlo), that of the king's palace (rājakule indrakīlo) and that of the harem (antaḥpura (!) indrakīlaśca).⁵⁸ In none of the Sanskrit-Dictionaries—as far as I know—occurs the word indrakīla; by the Comm. on *Aup.* §1 it is explained by: gopurāvayavaviśeṣaḥ “a special part of the gopura.” The *Mahāvīryutpatti* mentions (286, 88) the term on side of argaḍa. In the Brahminical literature the P. W. cites (vol. V additions, cf. VII, 1713 s. v.) Varāhamihira's *Brhatsaṃhitā* (33, 22; 46, 74; 89, 19); the passage of the *Rām.* (II, 80, 18) has the reading indranīla; the Comm. explains the v. l. indrakīla with parvatasadrśaḥ, because Indrakīla is the name of the Mandara (e. g. *Hemac. Abhidh.* 1030). Another text, where indrakīla is found, is the Pūrṇabhadra-Recension of the *Pañcatantra* (*Tantrākhyāna*, ed. by Joh. Hertel, HOS XI), p. 3, 5-7 in a long phrase,

58. In *Visuddhimagga* by Buddhaghōsa (ed. PTS.) I, p. 72 Anurādhapura has two indrakīlas. The word is frequently used in comparison, to denote the physical and moral steadiness.

dealing with the different specialities of a fortified town, which may be cited: *nagaram vividhayantrap-
raharanācaranaparipūrnagopurāṭṭālakaṃ viśaṃka-
ṭoṭkaṭadṛḍhaparighakapāṭatoranārgalopagatendra-
kilavipuladvāraṃ suvihitaśṛṅgāṭakacatuṣpathapra-
tiṣṭhitānekadevāyatanam parikhāparikaritoṣchari-
tahimagirisadṛśākāraprākāravālayapariveṣṭitam* (नग-
रं विविधयन्त्रप्रहरणाचरणपरिपूर्णगोपुरादालकं वि-
सङ्कटोत्कटद्वपरिघकपाटतोरणार्ग-
लोपगतेन्द्रकीलविपुलद्वारं सुविहितशृङ्गाटकचतुष्पथप्रतिष्ठितानेकदेवायतनं परिखापरि-
करितोच्चरितहिमगिरिसदृशकारप्रकारवलयपरिवेष्टितम् ॥).

It would be useless to infer from the date of the texts, where *indrakila* occurs, as to the age of the word, because its technical character could have restricted the occurrence. Nevertheless is it not significant that we meet it (although it is in *Dhammanada* and *Theragāthā*) in the Buddhist Sanskrit literature, but not in the Brahmanical before the 6th. cent.? And again we have to assert the congruence between the Jain works and the *Arthasāstra*.

3. TOWN AND VILLAGE AUTHORITIES:

(a) In *Aup.* (§45) is the *nagaraguttiya* = Skt. *nagaraguptika* mentioned. It is quite uncertain, whether this word is a technical term, an official title, or a general designation for a town-officer. But it may be noted that we meet this word also in Buddhist literature as *nagaraguttika*.⁵⁹

(b) *gāmarakkhā* is found in *Ācār.* (I, 8, 2, 8); also concerning the word, Skt. *grāmarakṣa*, it is doubtful whether it represents an official title.

⁵⁹ R. Fick, *Die sociale Gliederung*, Kiel 1897, p. 28, 103 f.—Besides in the *Jātakas* I have nowhere found the title.

4. HOUSES.

Already H. Jacobi remarked in his translation of *Utt.* (IX, 24⁶⁰) that a vardhamānagrha is the best kind of house according to *Varāham. Brhats.* (53, 36): śreṣṭham nandyāvartam sarveṣāṃ vardhamānasañjñam ca (श्रेष्ठं नन्दावर्तं सर्वेषां वर्धमानसंज्ञं च ।). Verse 33 says that the door should not be made facing the south: dvārālindo'ntagataḥ pradakṣiṇo'ṅgaḥ śubhastataścānyaḥ tāvacca vardhamāne dvāram tu na dakṣiṇam kāryam (द्वारालिन्दोऽन्तगतः प्रदक्षिणोऽङ्गः शुभस्ततश्चान्यः तावच्च वर्धमाने द्वारं तु न दक्षिणं कार्यम् ॥). The passage of the *Matsyapurāṇa* 254, 3⁶¹ agrees with that: dakṣiṇadvārahīnam tu vardhamānamudāhṛtam (दक्षिणद्वारहीनं तु वर्धमानमुदाहृतम् ।). From Dictionaries⁶² the word is found only in *Halāy. Abhidh.* II, 150:

ॐ Svastiko vardhamānaśea nandyāvartādayastathā,
vicchamḍakaviśeṣāḥ syuramī bhūpativeśmanah.

स्वस्तिको वर्धमानश्च नन्दावर्तादयस्तथा ।

विच्छन्दकविशेषाः स्युरमी भूपतिवेश्मनः ॥

Rām. V, 4, 8 (ed. *Gorr.* V, 10, 4) describes the vardhamānagrhas of Lankā; the Comm. cites these two ślokaś: vardhamānairgrhairvardhamānanāmakasamsthānavadgrhaiḥ (वर्धमानैर्गृहैर्वर्धमाननामकसंस्थानवद्गृहैः).

Catuḥśālam caturdvāram sarvatobhadrasamjñitam, paścimadvārarahitam nandyāvartāhvayam tu tat.

चतुःशालं चतुर्द्वारं सर्वतोभद्रसंज्ञितम् ।

पश्चिमद्वाररहितं नन्दावर्ताह्वयं तु तत् ॥

—60—*SBE* XIV, p. 38, n. 1.

—61—ed. *Ānandāśrama* S. vol. 54, 1907.

—62—The reference in P. W. for *Hemac. Anekārthas.* IV, 189 is wrong; it is clear that Vardhamāno vīrajine (वर्धमानो वीरजिने) is the name of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra.

dakṣinadvārarahitaṃ vardhamānaṃ dhanapradam,
prāgdvārarahitaṃ svastikākhyam putradhana-
pradam,

दक्षिणद्वाररहितं वर्धमानं धनप्रदम् ।
प्राग्द्वाररहितं स्वस्तिकाख्यं पुत्रधनप्रदम् ॥

ityukteḥ (इत्युक्तेः).

The source cannot be traced; for the age of the word the occurrence in the *Sundarakāṇḍa*⁶³ has no importance, and the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* remains therefore—besides the *Aup*,—for this term the earliest proof.

Houses are beautiful and painted, filled with jasmine and perfume, have a door (*kapāṭa*) and a white ceiling.⁶⁴ But there must be laid less stress on such passages as *Kalpas*. II, 32; themselves (?) 100 the festival decorations of a town are described.

5. ESTABLISHMENTS.

For the picture of a town and for city-life the passage *Acār*. II, 2, 2, 8 is of some importance. There are mentioned 18 or 19 different buildings or kinds of establishments, the names of which may be given first in Sanskrit, in brackets the Prākṛit form, and when the Skt.—equivalent is uncertain, only the latter:

1. āveśana (āesaṇāṇi)
2. āyatana (āyatanāṇi)
3. devakula (devakulāṇi)

⁶³ Cf. H. Jacobi, *Das Rāmāyaṇa*, Bonn 1893, p. 124.

⁶⁴ *Utt. XXXV*, 4; for *ulloca* (*ulloya*) in *Kalpas*. II. 32 and 100 see Th. Zachariae, *Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie*, Berlin 1883, p. 58.

4. sabhā(sabbhāo)
5. pavākaraṇāṇi
6. paṇyagrha (paṇiyagilhāṇi)
7. yānasālā (jāṇasālāo)
8. sudhākarmānta (sudhākammamṭāṇi)
9. dabbhakammamṭāṇi
10. vaddhakammamṭāṇi
11. pappakammamṭāṇi
12. aṅgārakarmānta (iṅgālakammamṭāṇi)
13. kāṣṭhakarmānta (kaṭṭhakammamṭāṇi)
14. śmaśānakarmānta (susāṇakammamṭāṇi)
15. śānti (saṃti)
16. śūnyāgāra (suṇṇāgāra)
17. girikandara (girikamḍara)
18. śānti? (saṃti)
19. śailopasthānakarmānta (selovaṭṭhāṇakam-
mamṭāṇi).

1. āveśana, known to the Lexicographers, as to: *S'āsvata* 587. (āveśe śālāyāmapī śilpinām); *Maṅkhakośa* 510 (the same); *Amarak.* II, 2, 7 (śilpaśālā);⁶⁵ *Halāy*, II, 141 (the same); *Varjayantī* p. 160, 44 (the same); *Hemac. Abhidh.* 1000 (the same); *Hemac. Anekārthas.* IV, 161 (śilpiveśmani). Kīlūka on *Manu* IX, 265 says śilpagrhaṇi; the same may be meant in *Kaṇṭ Arthas.* 141, 19. The meaning "workshop" is therefore quite certain, but the word is not of high age.

2. āyatana; and

3. devakula are common designations for smaller or bigger sanctuaries, or temples.

65 So to read instead of śilpas°.

8. *sudhākarmānta*. H. Jacobi translates (*S. B. E.* XXII, p. 126) this word by "distilleries", assuming the meaning "nectar" or *sudhā*. But it seems little probable that a distillery in so progressed times as the other establishments indicate, should be named from *sudhā*, whose one meaning according to the Dictionaries is *amṛta*; one must rather expect *surākarmānta*, e. g. *Upās.* VIII, 240 (cf. A. F. R. Hoernle's transl., *Bibl. Ind.*, p. 156f., n. 323). Against *sudhā* as liquor speaks also the unlikelihood of such an establishment for the lodging of a mendicant. *Sudhā* is an *anekārtha*; the Comm. on *Amarak.* III, 4, 104 cites *Ajaya* and the meanings adduced there are found in *S'āśvāta* 334, 761; *Hemac. Anek.* II, 252 and some of them in *Halāy. Abhidh.* II, 139; *Maṅkhak.* 413; the *Mahāvvyutpatti* knows 231, 3 in the P-Ms. *Sudhā* as synonymous with *amṛta*, in 234, 24 it is a plant. Another meaning of *sudhā* as a tree was hitherto misunderstood, which also Oppert in his *Vocabulary* s.v. *gaṇeṣṭi* in *Vaijayantī* p. 223, 89 has omitted. It is due to Th. Zachariae⁷¹ who designates the meaning of *sudhā* as a tree "Guilandina Bonducella." Well known is the meaning "whitewash" and we could therefore explain *sudhākarmānta* as an "establishment for whitewashing."⁷² But there cannot be denied that there exists another possibility of explanation; *sudhā* has also the meaning of *mūrvā* and *snuhī*, "spurge;" *mūrvā* is *Sansevieria Roxburghiana* Schult. and was used for the girdle (*mekhalā*) of *kṣatriyas* and for bow-

71 *Beiträge* p. 17 f.

72 Cf. *Bhāṣa'sa Pratimānāṭaka* p. 39-41.

strings.⁷³ While the former explanation on the whole seems preferable, the latter possesses some degree of probability in respect of the next term.

9. *dabbhammanta* represents a Skt. *darbhakarmānta*;

10. *vaddhakammanta* is probably a Skt. *vrddhakarmānta*;

11. *pappakammanta* is difficult to explain. Jacobi (*l. c.*) translates these three words by: "houses where Darbha-grass, bark, trees..... are worked." For *vaddha*° exists a *v. l.* *vabbha*°, for *pappa*° again *puvva*° and *vaṇa*°; the latter seems to be an attempt to supply the unknown or less known expression by a better known. For an explanation, only suggestive, we must refer to the whole lesson. It speaks about the lodging of mendicants and also in II, 2, 3, 18 there are enumerated sorts of grass, on which a couch can be prepared. Under these sorts there occurs a *paccaka*-grass, in *Sūtrakṛt.* II, 2, 7 *pappaka*. It is very likely that our *pappa*° is identical with *pappaka* in *Sūtrakṛt.* II, 2, 7; if it is true, that *dabbha* = *darbha*, *pappa* is a sort of grass⁷⁴ and the same as *pappaka*, then *vaddha* must also be a sort of grass, perhaps "high-grass", "reed-grass"⁷⁵. If, however, this explanation is correct there remains still that of *karmānta*; the use of *darbhagrass* for religious ceremonies

73 Cf. Kullūka on *Manu* II, 42; Hopkins, *JAOS* XIII, p. 271 and n.

74 P. W. knows *parpa* "young grass".

75 But *vrddha* as neutrum is the benzoe plant, *Amarak.* II, 4, 4, 10; Hemac. *Anekārthas.* II, 247.

cannot be taken here in consideration; perhaps the employment in medicine could be meant⁷⁶.

12. aṅgārakarmānta explains itself as a "coal-establishment", perhaps "charcoal-burning".

13. kāṣṭhakarmānta can be only "wood-works"; the *Kauṭ. Arthas.* gives in the kupyādhyakṣa (p. 99-101) a good impression of such a karmānta; and the śloka (p. 101, 1f) says:

Bahirantaśca karmāntā vibhaktāssarvabhāṇḍikāḥ,
ājīvapurarakṣārthāḥ kāryāḥ kupyopajivinā[m].

(बहिरन्तश्च कर्मान्ता विभक्तास्सर्वभाण्डिका ।

आजीवपुररक्षार्थः कार्याः कुप्योपजीविनाम् ॥)

14. śmaśānakarmānta. That again is a term not easily to be understood. An "establishment on a burial-ground" can be explained only in regard to the cremation and burial of corpses. So we find in the Sanskrit-literature the śmaśāna as the play-ground of all sorts of demons, especially in the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*⁷⁷, and as the field of working for exorcisers and sorcerers. Mṛtapa is explained by Nīlakaṇṭha on *Mhbh.* XIII, 48, 21 with śmaśānādhikārin and by Rāma on *Rām.* I, 59, 19 with śavavastrādhikāriṇaḥ. In the Comm. on *Dhammap.* (P. T. S. I, p. 68-70 we read from a susānagopikā, who instructs a follower of the Tathāgata about the rules on a burial-ground⁷⁸.

76 U. Ch. Dutt, *Materia Medica*, Calcutta 1877, p. 266.

77 Cf. *AKM* VIII (1881), p. 6, 38 ff. A full description of a śmaśāna is given in *Śatapatha-Br.* XIII, 8, 1, 1 f.

78 This story is found now translated in the *Buddhist Legends* by E. W. Burlingame, *HOS* XXVIII, p. 185 ff.

Those persons, living on a burial-mound⁷⁹, must announce the fact to the *susānagopakas* (*śmaśā-nago°*), to the oldest monk (*mahāthera*) and to the *gāmabhojaka* (*grāmabho°*), the freeholder of the village. About the work, which he has to perform, he is instructed that the corpses are to be placed on the funeral pyre and honored by perfumes and garlands and the performance of rites to be practised. King *Hariścandra* saw himself in a dream as a *pukkasa* performing the obsequies of the corpses on the burning-ground, for which duty he is paid (*Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* VIII, 132-134); here, VIII, 205-208 the *śmaśāna* is described, but in *S'atap.-Brāhm.* XIII, 8, 1ff. a full description is given.

All that is little for a sufficient explanation of a *śmaśānakarmānta*; it remains only probable that it means the burning of corpses and supplying of the necessary material and works.

In the next terms *upasthānakarmānta* has to be added⁸⁰, the whole sentence forms a *tatpuruṣa*; the translation must be "establishments for lodging in...." *upasthāna* has therefore here the meaning as P. W. s. v. 3 states: "stay".

15. *śāntyāgāra*, to be read with regard to *śūnyāgāra*, is a hall or temple for ceremonies, e. g. for the *nirājana*-ceremony as described by *Varāham. Brhats.* 44, 1ff.

79 The *śmaśāna* as a dwelling-place is mentioned *Ācār.* I, 7, 2, 1. *Susānagopaka* corresponds with a Skt. *śmaśāna-pāla* in *Kathāsarits.* XVIII, 107,

80 The reading of the Mss. is not uniform. One Ms. has after each word *kammamāṇi*.

16. *śūnyāgāra* "an empty house" is occurring also in Buddhist literature, but-as it seems-in different sense. To dwell in an empty house is interdicted by the Brahmanical religious law (*Manu* IV, 57; *Viṣṇu* LXX, 13). In Buddhist literature again the monks are repeatedly directed to meditate in a *suññāgāra*; there occurs often the expression: *etāni bhikkhave* (or *Ānand*, in *Majjh.-Nik.* I, 118; III, 332) *rukkhamūlāni etāni suññāgārāni*⁸¹ *jhāyatha bikkhave mā pamādattha mā pacchāvippatisārino ahuvattha* (एतानि भिक्खवे ममादत्त मा पच्छाविप्पतिसारिनो अहुवत्थ) (*Ang.-Nik.* IV, 139; 392; *Samy.-Nik.* IV, 133; *Divyāv.* p. 344, 8-11). Different meanings are to be attributed to the word in *Dīgha-Nik.* VIII, 22 and XVI, 25.⁸²

17. *girikandara* are "hill-caves;" in the rules, prescribed by Buddha, *Cullav.* VI, 1, 2; cf. *Mahāv.* I, 30, 4 *leṇas* are allowed to the *bhikṣus* and the inscriptions (cf. the Index in Lüders' *List* p. 221 s. v. *leṇa*) as well as the explorations

81 In connexion with *rukkhamūla* we find *suññāgāra* *Ang.-Nik.* III, 53 (45, 3); V, 109 (60, 4); V, 207 (99, 7); V, 323 (*Ekādasaka-Nipāta* X, 3). Further cf. *Majjh.-Nik.* I, 33, 213; *Ang.-Nik.* V, 131 f. and *Mahāvvyutpatti* 126, 88: *br̥ṃhayitā śūnyāgārāṇām* (ब्रम्हयिता शून्यागाराणां) *Ang.-Nik.* V, 88 the monk shall be delighted in a *suññāgāra*. Cf. Monier-Williams, *Dictionary* s. v. *śūnyālaya*; according to the second edition the references are found in the first edition according to which "the sleeping in such a house is forbidden".

82 Cf. Franke's translation of the *Dīgha-Nik.* p. 189, n. 3.—*suññāgāra* occurs *Aup.* § 38; *Ācār.* I, 7, 2, 1; *Sūtrakṛt.* I, 2, 2, 13.

in Eastern Turkestan give the best testimonies for the part which caves played as dwelling-places for monks.

18. *śānti*? That a second *śānti* is impossible, cannot be denied; one Ms. omits it altogether, and in a similar passage in *Kalpas*. II. 89 we read *girikāṇḍarasamṭisamḍhi*°, (*गिरिकंदरसंतिसंधि*) to each of these words-according to the Comm.-*giha* has to be added. The Comm. explains also *saṃdhi-grha* with *bhittiyorantarāle pracchannasthānam* (*भित्तयोरन्तराले प्रच्छन्नस्थानम्* !).

19. *śaila* must again be read together with *upasthānakarmānta* and means therefore a lodging-place on hills.⁸³

The interesting items of this enumeration are the public and probably royal establishments like *sabhā*, *prapā*, *paṇyagrha*, *yānaśālā*; uncertain is the character, whether royal or private, of the *karmāntas* with *sudhā*, *aṅgāra*, *kāṣṭha* and the mysterious grass-sorts. Then the enumeration goes back to public buildings and places, fitted for the retirement of mendicants. Similar passages are found in *Acār*. I, 7, 2, 1; *Aup*. §38, *Kalpas*. II. 89. In the Buddhistic Sanskrit literature we meet

83 A *śailagrha* has been erected for the teacher: *Ajanta-Inscr.* (*Report Arch. Survey W. I, IV 1884*) p. 134, l. 6 and is mentioned in a *Karle-Inscription* (*Ep. Ind.* VII, p. 48 f. Ng. 1). E. Senart (p. 49) remarks: "In spite of the general meaning of *selaghara* it seems.....that the expression *griha* or *ghara* was habitually restricted to the halls used for worship, those which are generally styled *chaitya* caves."

in *Divyāv.* p. 344, 8f. the following passage: *etāni bhikṣavo'raṇyāni śūnyāgārāṇi parvatakandaragi-riguhāpalālapuñjābhyavakāśa śmaśānavanaprasthāni* (एतानि भिक्षवोऽरण्यानि शून्यागाराणि पर्वतकन्दरगिरिगुहापलालपुञ्जाभ्यवकाश-श्मशानवनप्रस्थानानि ॥) In *Ang.-Nik.* IV, 436f. we read: So vivittam senāsanam bhajati araṇṇam susānam vanapabbatam kandaram giriguham so' raṇṇagato vā rukkhāmūlāgato vā suṇṇāgārāgato vā nisidati. (सो विवित्तं सेनासनं भजति अरण्यं रुक्खमूलं पव्वतं कंदरं गिरिगुहं सुसाणं वनपत्थं अन्मोकासं पलालपुञ्जं सोऽरणागतो वा रुक्खमूलागतो वा सुन्नागरगतो वा निसीदति ॥). Such sets of words occur also in Brahmanical literature; e. g. *Manu* IX, 264-266 asks the king to watch over: *sabhā, prapā, apūpa-śālā, (veśamadyānnavikraya, catuspatha, caitya-vṛkṣa, samāja, prekṣaṇa, jirṇodyāna), aranya-kārukāveśana, śūnyāni āgārāṇi.*

In such a phrase the enumeration can be well understood, because the places give occasion enough for the handicraft of robbers and thieves. But in the passage considered above we find different circumstances: there are different establishments, public, royal and private, only to be enumerated. It cannot be proved, but made probable that such a list must be an interpolation taken from another source, perhaps again from a lexicon. *Hemac. Abhidh.* 989 ff. gives such material (*āveśana* 1000, *prapā* 1001, *paṇyāśālā* 1002); *Amarak.* has II, 2, 6 ff.: *sabhā, āyatana, vājīśālā, āveśana, prapā*; cf. *Halāy. Abhidh.* II, 138 f.; *Vaijayanṭī* 160, 39 f. We cannot conclude from these premises with certainty, but that there existed some connexion is hardly possible to be denied.

II.

1 GEOGRAPHY.

Names of towns.

In *Kalpas. II.* 122 these names of towns are found in the following list given in Skt.:

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Asthikagrāma | 7. Nālanda |
| 2. Campā | 8. Mithilā |
| 3. Prṣṭhicampā | 9. Bhadrīkā |
| 4. Vaiśālī | 10. Ālabhikā |
| 5. Vāṇijagrāma | 11. Paṇitabhūmi |
| 6. Rājagrha | 12. Śrāvastī |
| | 13. Pāpā. |

1. Asthikagrāma. In his translation (*SBE XXII*, p. 264. n. 2) H. Jacobi cites the Comm. according to which "it was formerly called Vardhamāna, but it has since been called Asthikagrāma, because a Yaksha Śūlapāṇi had there collected an enormous heap of bones of the people whom he had killed. On that heap of bones the inhabitants had built a temple." Accepting this story we must look for the town Vardhamāna.

In *Mhbh.* (I, 126, 9; III, 1, 10) occurs Vardhamānapura, a village according to Nilakaṇṭha on the second passage, which cannot be in connexion with the other places identified with our Vardhamāna. In Varāhamihira's *Brhatsaṃhitā* we find a people Vardhamāna mentioned in XIV, 7 next to Tāmaliptika and Kośalaka,⁸⁴ located in

84 Cf. W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, Bonn 1920, p. 107 and 117. Vardhamānapura is found also as a town in the West in the Jaina—*Harivaṃśa*, s. *Ind. Ant.* XV (1886), p. 141 f. Cf. Nundelal Dey, *Ind. Ant.* XLIX (1920), *Suppl.*, p. 25

the East, in the Bardwān region. The passages as XVI, 3; LXXIX, 21; XCIV, 2 speak from the mountain Vardhamāna, of which two occur in the Purāṇas; more to say seems impossible as long as the story alleged by Jacobi cannot be shown elsewhere.

2. Campā. A city, well known from Buddhist literature, four miles to the west of Bhagalpur, the capital of the Aṅga-kingdom.⁸⁵

3. Pr̥sthicampā. There is no other explanation possible than the assumption to see in the name not the suburb, a certain part of the town Campā. In *Aup.* § 38 for instance Mahāvira stays not in the town Campā; but bāhhiṃ; the meaning of Pr̥sthicampā seems to be something like "High-Campā" or the "Acropolis of Campā." The ruins of a fort, Karnagaḍ, exist till today.⁸⁶

4. Vaiśālī, and 5. Vāṇijagrāma. Few (places of India, besides Pāṭaliputra perhaps none), attract and deserve the interest of students of Ancient India in such a high degree as it is the case with Vesālī, one of the central places in

s. v. Barddhamāna 2. In *Ang-Nik.* V, 342, 346, f. occurs At̥hakanāgara on the way to Pāṭalimitra; should there exist a connexion between At̥hakanāgara and At̥hiyaggāma?

85 Cf. Mark Collins, *The Geographical Data of the Raghuvamśa*..... *Dissertation* Leipzig 1907, p. 23 ff.; V. A. Smith, *Early History*, third ed. 1914, p. 31; N. Dey, *l. c.* P. 44-46.

86 Cf. N. Dey, *l. c.* p. 44.

the history of Buddhism as well as in that of the religion of Mahāvīra.

It is not possible, without autopsy, even without a good map of India, to discuss the problems connected with the ancient site of Vaiśālī; therefore the few remarks are given here in a tentative form; a future inquiry which must be based on the whole Indian literature, especially on the Buddhist and Jinist, down to the records of the Chinese pilgrims.

Three theories about the site of Vaiśālī have been made: 1. That which is expressed by A. Cunningham and completed by V. A. Smith,⁸⁷ locating the town at the modern village of Basār (basād) and the neighbouring villages in the Muzaffarpur District of North Bihār. 2. In a letter to Prof. Rhys Davids, W. Vost expressed his opinion "that Vaiśālī city was situated in the Chaparā District of Bengal, and is represented by the extensive remains of the undescribed walled city of Mānjhī, on the left bank of the Ghāgharā (Gogrā) river, opposite to the confluence of this river with the old bed of the Ganges."⁸⁸ 3. A third, similar to the former, is dealt with by W. Hoey in *JASB* XLIX 1900 77 ff., (shortly repeated *JRAS* 1907, p. 46), assuming the site of Vaiśālī eighteen miles to the west from Paleza Ghāt, at Cherand, seven miles towards the south-east by east of Chaprā.

87 *JRAS* 1902, p. 267/288 with a map.

88 *JRAS* 1903, p. 583. The promised paper has—as far as I see—never been published.

The indications for the topography of Vaiśālī, as laid down in Jain works, are discussed by A. F. R. Hoernle in his translation of the *Uvāsagadasūo*.⁸⁹ He pointed out that Vāṇiyagāma is another name of the well known city of Vesālī, that Kuṇḍagāma or Kuṇḍapura is an equivalent for Vesālī. Vāṇiyagāma may be found in the existing modern place of Baniyū (Buncean), lying north-west of Basār.⁹⁰ Should this identification be correct, then Vāṇiyagāma could not be another name of Vaiśālī, and *Kalpas*. (II. 122) explains that Mahāvīra is said to have stayed twelve years in Vaiśālī and Vāṇijagrāma. A further proof against the view held by Hoernle is the analogous connexion between Rājagrha and its suburb Nālanda. Kuṇḍapura cannot be equivalent to Vaiśālī, because it in *Kalpas*. (100) has again suburbs and is described as nagara. An argument against this view is also the name of Mahāvīra as Vaiśālīan.

A. Weber and H. Jacobi⁹¹ have remarked that the Indian Comm. did not understand the term, found in *Sūtrakṛt*. (I, 2, 3); *Utt.*, (VI, 17.) But a closer consideration will show that the term is without value. Jacobi stated himself (*SBE* XLV, p. 261 n. 1) that the passage (evam se udāha...arahā Nāyaputte bhagavaṃ Vesālīe (एवं से उदाह अरहा नायपुत्ते वेसालि ए)) is a contradiction to the supposition that the whole lesson was pronounced by Rṣabha; Mahāvīra, on the other hand, could not have said about his own person (*Sūtrakṛt*. I, 2,

⁸⁹ *Bibl. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 3 ff., n. 3.

⁹⁰ Smith, *l. c.*, p. 272 f.

⁹¹ Cf. *SBE* XXII, p. XI.

26) mahayā mahesiṇā (महया महेसिणा). In *Utt.* (VI, 17) we find the term only in prose annexed to a metrical chapter and neither the Comm. on *Sūtrakṛt* nor that on *Utt.* knows anything about the origin of the name Vaiśālīka.⁹²

In the following lines may be shown from another standpoint the inconsistency of the historical circumstances respecting Mahāvīra's birth-place and family with the geographical data.

The father of the founder of the Jain religion was the kṣatriya Siddhārtha (*Ācār.* II, 15, 4), to which two other names (*Ācār.* II, 15, 15), are assigned: Sejjaṃsa and Jaṣaṃsa.⁹³ According to the remarks made by Hoernle he was "the chief of Nāya-clan, resident in the Kollāga suburb of the city of Vesālī or Kuṇḍagāma."⁹⁴ Kollāga is situated in a north-easterly direction of Vāṇija-grāma, whose king was Jiyasattū (*Uvās.* I. 3). The king of Videha was Ceṭaka, while Jiyasattū is also mentioned as king of Śrāvastī.⁹⁵ But we know from Buddhist sources that there existed in Vaiśālī the oligarchy of the Licchavis. Now we have the following relations between the residences:

92 33): Cf. A. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* XVI (1883), p. 261; *Verzeichnis der Sanskrit und Prākṛit-Handschriften der Königl. Bibliothek. Zu Berlin*, II, 3 p. 424 n. 1, 434, n. 5.

93 Probably Śreyāṃsa and Yaśaṃsa.

94 *Uvās.* transl. p. 5, noto.

95 Hoernle, *l. c.* p. 103, n. 216.

Śrāvastī, Videha: KING CETAKA
 Ālabhiyā⁹⁶ Mithilā, Vāṇijagrāma
 | Vaiśālī = Kuṇḍagrāma
 Licchavis suburb: Kollāga⁹⁷ | Jiyāsattū
 king: Siddhārtha

It is quite impossible that such a complicated ruling of the Videha country and the city of Vaiśālī has any degree of likelihood; and the assumption of the identity of Jiyāsattū with Cetaka is based on nothing. Cetaka is mahārāja, (Kalpas. Comm. 128), king of Vaiśālī and of Videha;⁹⁸ his daughter Trisālā is Mahāvira's mother (Ācār. II, 15, 15); she is named therefore Videhadattā and Mahāvira therefore again Videha (Ācār. II, 15, 17; Kalpas. 110). And because Vaiśālī was in this time the capital of Videha, Mahāvira is named also Vaiśālian.

Buddhist writings give another picture of Vesālī. The Koṭigāma is mentioned, near the city (Mahāvagga VI, 30); another village is Beluva. In Dīgha-Nik. (XVI, 2, 21; XVI, 3, 2) are described the cetiyas of Vesālī: Udena, Gotamaka,⁹⁹ Sāttambaka-, Bahuputra-, Sārāndada- and Cāpāla-cetiya. Less importance can be laid on the des-

96 Cf. *Uvās. l. c.* p. 6. n. 9 and *Uvās. text* IV, 155.

97 Perhaps the modern Kolluā (JRAS 1902, p. 283).

98 *Uvās. transl.* p. 6, n. 9.

99 R. O. Franke, *Dīgha-Nikāya, transl.* p. 204, n. 5, is right to say that the cetiyas are sometimes trees; *Divyāv.* 201, 5 and 14. the Gautamanyagrodha is mentioned as a cetiya of Vaiśālī.

cription in *Dulva* (III, fol. 80¹⁰⁰); it may be connected with *Mahāvagga* (VIII, 1) in any way.

So much about Vaiśālī and Vāṇijagrāma; but the chapter of the "history of Vaiśālī" is not yet written.¹⁰¹ It seems that the coincidence between Buddhist and Jinist literature respecting Vaiśālī is not great and it seems further that the Licchavis do not play the same role in the time of Mahāvīra as in Buddha's time.¹⁰²

6. Rājagrha and 7. Nālanda. According to the *Bhagavati*¹⁰³ Nālanda was a bāhiriya of Rājagriha (p. 1206) and the same expression we meet in *Kalpas* (II, 122); from *Sūtrakṛt.* (II; 7, 1) we learn that it was situated in a north-eastern direction. In *Dīgha-Nik.* (I, 1, 1; XI, 1) Nālanda is represented as a greater town, near Rājagrha. It is possible that the growth of villages, former suburbs, led to independent towns; in the *Mahāvīyutpatti* (193, 18) Śrīnālandah is mentioned, separate from Rājagrha. This town is the modern Rājgir, NE from Gāya, SE from Patnā.¹⁰⁴ The monastery of Nālanda, according to I-tsing, was

100 W. W. Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, London 1907, p. 62.

101 A short article has been published by V. A. Smith in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics* XII, p. 567 f.: cf. *JRAS* 1905, p. 152-154.

102 to p. 34: Cf. T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 26.

103 Cited by Hoernle, *Uvās. transl. App.* I, p. 1.

104 V. A. Smith, *Early History*, p. 31, n. 1.

distant from Rājagṛha 5 krośa; today Nālanda may be Bargaon.¹⁰⁵

8. Mithilā, known by the *Rāmāyaṇa*, has not yet been identified; it was a city of Videha.¹⁰⁶

9. Bhadrīkā. This place runs in Pkt. Bhaddiyā and is found under the same form in Pāli. According to *Mahāvagga* (V, 8, 1) Buddha comes from Bārāṇasī to Bhaddiyā and goes (V, 9, 1) from here to Śrāvastī (Sāvattthi); from Sāvattthi he comes to Bhaddiyanagara (*Jāt*, II, 331 [264]). It must have, therefore, been situated in a northern direction from Benares on the way to Śrāvastī. Bhaddiyanagara is its name in *Mahāvagga* (VI, 34, 1); here it is represented as a city under the regime of the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisāra;

¹⁰⁵ *JA s. XI, t. XI* (1918), p. 157. For the importance of Nālanda in archæological respect cf. V. A. Smith, *ERB IX*, p. 126 f. The Correct spelling of the modern name is, according to T. Bloch, *JRAS* 1909, p. 440 Bargāv, who p. 441-3 informs about his own, but short journey thereseff. Known only by the brief notice by V. A. Smith, *JRAS*, 1917, p. 154 f.; *ibid.* 1919, p. 239 f. are to me the undertaken explorations, for which see D. B. Spooner, *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Eastern Circle, for 1916-1917. About the distance between Rājagṛha and Nālanda s. *JA s. XI, t. XI* (1918), p. 157.

¹⁰⁶ According to T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 37 in the district Tirhut. I do not know the source, from which H. Jacobi, *Das Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 68, n. 1 argues that Mithilā and Viśālā have grown together in Buddhist times. Rhys Davids, on the contrary, l. c. p. 26 says that Mithilā was about thirty-five miles north-west from Vesālī. For the size of the Videha-country and of Mithilā cf. T. W. Rhys Davids, *JRAS*, 1907, p. 642-649.

he says (VI, 34,) 3 : amhākam kira vijite Bhaddiy-anagare...(अम्हाकं किर विजिते भदियनगरे ।). In *Divyāvad.* (125, 11 ff.) the Buddha determines on going to Bhadrāmkanagara, while staying at Śrāvastī (126,16). Bhaddiyā is according to *Dhammap.-Comm.* (I, 384); Sp. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, (first edition; 220) in the Aṅga-country; inasmuch as Śrenika Bimbisāra conquered and annexed the kingdom of Aṅga,¹⁰⁷ the two indications do not contradict the historical facts. The Mahāmāyūrī, which belongs to a time prior to the fourth or fifth cent. A. D.,¹⁰⁸ mentions (66, 3)¹⁰⁹ the city Bhadrīkā and as the next, Pāṭaliputra (67, 1); it is, because Pāṭaliputra appears (1, 2), very probable to assume with Silvain Lévi the identity of Bhadrapura (in 2, 2).¹¹⁰ The twice mentioned neighbourhood of Pāṭaliputra would agree well with the notice that Bhadrīkā belonged to the Aṅga-kingdom, respecting the Magadha empire, but

107 Sp. Hardy, l. c., p. 163, n. *; Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 70, where Campā (s. above) is already in the Magadha kingdom, cf. p. 90. The close relation of the Aṅga and Magadha kingdom is indicated also by the expression Aṅga-Magadhā, *Majjh-Nik.* II, 2; *Paramatthaj.* I, p. 115; II, p. 326, 384.

108 Cf. S. Lévi *JA* s. XI, t. V (1915), p. 19; M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur* II, p. 271 and 380.

109 *JA*, l. c. p. 48.

110 S. Lévi is not right in declaring (l. c. p. 99) in the Sāñchī-Stūpa-inscription N 187 (Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* II, p. 377) Bhāḍikiyasa as the inhabitant of Bhāḍikiya; we must rather expect Bhāḍiyakasa, further No. 306 (*Ep. Ind.* II, p. 389) names a bhikkhu Bhāḍika from Kuraghara. Bhaddiya is a name of bhikkhus, theras and khattiyas, very often occurring.

it does not agree with the situation concluded from *Mahāvagga* (V, 8 ff). The explanation can only be to interpret the *Mahāvagga*-passages in another way or to give up the identification. The latter possibility is less admissible, except that there existed two cities with the same name. The first way is also only practicable by the interpretation that the Buddha was not going directly from Benares to Bhaddiyā and from here to Śrāvastī, but that these are only points of his travelling; going from Rājagṛha (*Mahāvagga* V, 7, 1) to Benares, then back to Bhaddrikā and from here in a northern direction to Śrāvastī. We learn from the *Dhammap.*-Comm. (I, 384 f.) that king Pasenadi comes, travelling from Bhaddiyana-gara, to a place which is distant from Pasenadi's capital, Sāvattthi, seven yojanas; here he founds the town Sāketa. In this connexion it may be remembered that Fa-Hien knows the place Shā-che eight yojanas north from Śrāvastī, which is an error, because the latter town lay in a northern direction from Shā-che.¹¹¹ Shā-che has been identified by A. Cunningham with Sāketa; In spite of the objection by V. A. Smith¹¹² we will see that there is still another point which speaks for identification. The monastery of the Jātiyāvana is mentioned on frequent passages in the Buddhist literature, near Bhaddiyā.

10. Ālabhikā. In his note on *Uvās.* (IV. 155) Hoernle¹¹³ made the attempt to identify

¹¹¹ V. A. Smith, *JRAS*, 1898, p. 523.

¹¹² *JRAS*, 1900, p. 3; cf. W. Vost, *JRAS*, 1905, p. 437-449.

¹¹³ *Uvās. transl. App.* III, p. 51-53,

the here-mentioned town Ālabhiyā with Alow in Sp. Hardy's, *Manual of Buddhism* (p. 261 cf. p. 356),¹¹⁴ and with Ā-le in Fa-Hian's *Travels*. He saw in this place the modern Newal, called Navadevakula by Hiuen-Tsiang.

The town Ālavi is familiar to Buddhist literature with the story of the Yakṣa Ālavaka, residing there and converted by Buddha. V. A. Smith¹¹⁵ points out that Ā-le (in Legge's transcription) must be either Bāngarmāu or Jogī Kot, four and a half miles east of Newal. While the Chinese text of Fa-Hian gives the distance from Ā-le to Shā-che in south-eastern direction as ten yojanas, the Corean text has only three. For our purpose it is irrelevant whether the distance is ten or three yojanas, it is sufficient to know that Ā-le must be located near Shā-che and Śrāvastī. A proof for this view is *Cullav.* (VI, 17, 1); the Buddha comes from Kiṭāgiri¹¹⁶ to Ālavi and goes from here to Rājagṛha (VI, 21, 1).

114 The book must be cited in the edition of the year 1860, because the newer edition of the year 1880 is not here in the Library.

115 *JRAS*, 1898, p. 520 f.; cf. also N. Dey, *Ind. Ant.* XLIX (1920), Suppl. s. v. Ālavi, p. 3, who gives Airwa.

116 The situation of Kiṭāgiri is generally clear from *Cullav.* I, 13, 1 ff. The followers of Assaji and Punabbasu are dwelling in Kiṭāgiri. A bhikkhu arrives at this place, coming from Kāsi, and goes on to visit the Buddha, then staying at Śrāvastī. Kiṭāgiri must therefore be placed on the way from Benares to Śrāvastī. I, 13, 5 the bhikkhu declares to be arrived from the land of Kāsi, after dressing in the morning, at Kiṭāgiri; whether the same day, is uncertain, but it seems so.

That is the argument, mentioned above (p. 35 f.) that all the towns: Shā-che, Ālavi and Bhadrīkā must be placed in the northern portion of the triangle, formed by Rājagṛha, Benares and Śrāvastī.

According to Fa-Hian (p. 54 in Legge's translation) Ā-le is situated three yojanas south from the northern bank of the Ganges, near Kanauj. From here three yojanas to south-east he reached Shā-che and Shā-che lay eight yojanas south-east¹¹⁷ from Śrāvastī. There is no question that the text is wrong declaring Shā-che in a northern direction from Śrāvastī; we have, I think, one proof for this emendation in the passage of the *Dhammap.-Comm.* (I, 384), where Shā-che (Sāketa) is founded at a place distant seven yojanas south from Pasenadi's capital Śrāvastī, and a second in *Majjh.-Nik.* (I, 149); here king Pasenadi uses, staying in Sāvattī, and going to Sāketa, seven rathavinītas, that is to say, seven relay-posts, an institution known from Persia (cf. SWA 191, 5 p. 21, 323 f.). In this region, south or south-east, we must look for Bhaddiyā, in the northern corner of Bihār.¹¹⁸ But who is to

- 117 V. A. Smith assumes, *JRAS*, 1898, p. 523, eighteen or nineteen. There is a difference in *Dhammap.-Comm.* I, p. 387 in comparison with Sp. Hardy, *Manual* p. 221, where the king says, his city is only seven yojanas in size and Dhanafijaya thinks it therefore too small for his retinue. That Sāketa was on the way to Sāvattī is also evident from *Mahāvagga* I, 66, 1; 67, 1; VI, 1, 1 f.; cf. W. Vest, *JRAS* 1905, p. 437 ff., esp. p. 440-445.
- 118 Could the modern Bottiah be the ancient Bhaddiyā-Bhadrīkā?

reconcile such a result with the statement that Bhaddiyā lay in the Aṅga-kingdom?

It is true that in the *Dhammap.-Comm.* (I, 384) the Aṅgaratṭha is mentioned, in which Bhaddiyā was situated. But in *Dhammap.-Comm.* (III, 363) we read: Satthā kira Aṅguttarāpesu cārikam caranto...Bhaddiyanagaram gantvā...(सत्या किर अंगुत्तरापेसु चारिकं चरन्तो.....भद्वियनगरं गन्त्वा...). This country Aṅguttarāpa occurs in *Mahāvagga* (VI, 34, 17), wherein Buddha comes from Bhaddiyā and also in *Suttanipāṭa* (1917 ed. Fausboll p.99, ed. PTS p.102). The Comm., *Paramatthajotikā* (II, p. 102), remarks: Aṅguttarāpesū ti Aṅgā eva so janapado, Gaṅgāya pana yā uttarena āpo tāsam avidūratā Uttarāpā ti vuccati (अंगुत्तरापेसु ति अंगा एव सो जनपदो गंगाय पन या उत्तरेन आपो तासं अविदुरत्ता उत्तराप ति वुच्चति । cf. p. 439 and 440, where Aṅguttarāpānam ratṭham (अंगुत्तरापानं रट्ठं) is mentioned). This explanation based on etymology, may be little satisfying, but it shows the affinity between Aṅguttarāpa and Aṅga.¹¹⁹ Should it now be impossible that this country Aṅguttarāpa, whose nigama was Āpaṇa, is the Aṅga-kingdom of the *Dhammap.-Comm.* (I, 384) or did there exist a second, northern Aṅga?

Ālavi is, according to the *Paramatthajotikā* (II, 217) on *Suttanip.* (10), a kingdom and a town: ratṭham pi nagaram pi vuccati, tadubhayam pi idha vaṭṭati (रट्ठं पि नगरं पि वुच्चति तदुभयं पि इध वट्ठति); therefore the Comm. speaks Ālavinagara an Ālaviratṭham. The name of Ālavi is found further in the *Paramatthaj.* (II, 265, 269,

119 Buddha is staying in Aṅguttarāpa: *Majjh-Nik.* I, 359 (54.); 447 (59.).

344); in the *Suttanip.* (1917 ed. Faussboll p. 34, ed. PTS p. 33) Ālavī is probably identical with Aṭavi, whose Yakṣa is Āṭavaka (cf. Ālavaka¹²⁰) in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (151); the foundation of this town is narrated in the *Mūla-Sar-Vāstivādin-Vinaya* and falls, according to this source, under the king Bimbisāra.¹²¹ In the *Bhagavatī*¹²² the cetiya Pannakālaga outside Ālabhiyā is mentioned.

11. Paṇiyabhūmi or Paṇitabhūmi, as Jacobi renders the Pkt.-form, is a town; whose identification has not yet been found. Hoernle¹²³ is right to say that in *Kalpas* the proper name is natural, but in the *Bhagavatī*¹²⁴ the meaning is unclear and also the number of years inconsistent with that of *Kalpas*. According to the Comm. Paṇiyabhūmi was a place in Vajrabhūmi.

From the context in *Kalpas*, as well as in *Bhagavatī* it is quite unclear where Paṇiyabhūmi

120 The demon Ālavaka is well known; in the Fe-shē-līng-tsān-king by Dharmarakṣa (a Chinese form of Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*, written between 414-421 A. D.) occurs Verse 1695 a demon Ālava on the mount Ala (*SBE* XIX, p. 244). The cetiya is named Aggūlava, e. g. *Suttanipāṭa* 12; *Dhammap-Comm.* III, p. 170; *Jāt.* I, 160 (16.); II, 282 (253.); III, 78 (323.); *Ang.-Nik.* IV, 216; *Samy.-Nik.* I, 185; *Paramatthaj.* II, 2 ff.; (F, Spiegel, *Anecdōta Pāli* p. 83 ff.).

121 S. Lévi, *JA* s. XI, t. V (1915), p. 64; cf. H. Kern, *Manual of Buddhism* (Grundriss III, 8) p. 37, n. 2.

122 Transl. by E. Leumann in Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, App. p. 255: The town Aṭavi in *Mhbh.* II, 31, 72 has nothing to do with Ālavī.

123 *Uvās. transl.* App. III, p. 54.

124 E. Leumann in Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, App. p. 250.

should be located. But it seems to be logical to assume that the enumeration of the towns could be hardly arranged topsy-turvy that Śrāvastī in the north and Ālabhikā, probably also Bhadrīkā should include a place not lying in the north. And further it seems probable that Pāṇiyabhūmi was near Śrāvastī. Now there exists an inscription of the Mahārāja Mahendrapāladeva (Dighwā-Dubauli plate¹²⁵); in line 8 there is mentioned a village Pāṇiyakagrāma in the Śrāvastī-bhukti and Vālayikā-ṣaṣaya.¹²⁶ The Skt.-form, however, of Pāṇiyabhūmi is not quite certain; Panyabhūmi is also possible; but perhaps for the proposed identification the difference in the quality of the vowels is of less importance.

12. Śrāvastī. It is a sad fact that regarding the correct identification of Śrāvastī there is no agreement between the archaeologists and historians of India. The statements of Cunningham and Hoey have been twice rejected by V. A. Smith.¹²⁷ J. Ph. Hoey¹²⁸ has attempted to justify Cunningham's view, supported by new discoveries of inscriptions.

13. Pāpā. The last of the towns, here considered, is Pāpā or Pāvā, playing a great

125 *Ind. Ant.* XV (1886), p. 112 f., Kielhorn's *List Ep.* Ind. VIII, Appendix p. 74, No. 542.

126 *ṣaṣaya* is, it seems, the administrative district, bhukti the centre of the reign; cf. *Ind. Ant.* XV, p. 306, l. 29: *tirabhuktāu Kākṣavaiṣayikasvasambaddhā* (तीरभुक्तौ कक्षवैषयिकस्वसम्बद्धौ ।).

127 *JRAS* 1898, p. 520-531; 1900, p. 1-24; cf. *ibid.* 1905, p. 441, n. 1.

128 *JRAS* 1908, p. 971-975.

role in the Buddhist literature 'as being the place where Buddha,—according to *Dīgha-Nīk* (XVI, 4, 13 f.)—took his fateful meal.

This Pāvā is represented by the modern village Papaur or Pappaur (Pāvāpura), three miles east of Aliganj Sewan, between Gogra and Gandak, both the tributaries of the Ganges on the left side.¹²⁹ The determination of this place is dependent on that of Kuśinagara. But there is a *petitio principii* inasmuch as the site of Kuśinagara or Kusinārā is again the object of controversies. It seems, however, that the view, held by V. A. Smith,¹³⁰ that Kasiā is Vethadīpa, is correct and Kuśinagara must be located at 84°51' E. L. and 27°32' N. L., in Nepal at the confluence of the Little Raptī with the Gandak.

Assuming such a statement and the records of the Chinese pilgrims exclude another one—Pāvā must be sought in a region, not too far off Kuśinagara. There is no doubt that we must place all the mentioned towns: Bhadrīkā, Ālabhikā, Kuśinagara in a more or less close vicinity of Śrāvastī. In *Dīgha-Nīk*. IV, 1 (= *Mahā-parinibbāna*) the Buddha comes via Vesālī to Bhaṇḍa-gāma, Hatthigāma (5), Ambagāma, Jambugāma, and Bhoganagara (6) to Pāvā (13). (IV,

129 Hoey's statement in *JASB* LXIX, Part I, (1900), p. 80 cited by R. O. Franke, *Dīghanikāya*, transl. p. 222, n. 1.

130 *JRAS*, 1902, p. 139-163; *ERE*, VII, p. 761-763; the further literature is given on the latter place. For Vethadīpa s. also *JRAS* 1908, p. 164 and Smith's article.

33) a Mallian Pukkusa is passing the high-road from Kusinara to Pāvā. And from there Buddha comes to Kusinārā *Dīgha-Nik.* (XVI, 4, 20,¹³¹) From Pāvā To Kusinārā led another way from Vesālī (*Mahāvagga* VI, 30, 6) via Āpaṇa, which is in the *Āṅguttarāpa Mahāvagga* (VI, 35, 36,) and via Atumā from Śrāvastī *Mahāvagga* (VI, 37, 38). The east-direction of all these places cannot be in question.

In *Dīgha-Nik.* (XXIX, 1) the Buddha receives the news from Mahāvīra's death in Pāvā, while staying in the Sakka-country. Frank e¹³² remarked in connexion with *Dīgha-Nik.* (XXXIII, 1, 66) that Buddha was at the same time in the Sakka-country and in Pāvā. Such a conclusion is wrong. In *Majjh.-Nik.* (II, 243 1041) we read: Ekam samayaṃ Bhagavā Sakkesu viharati Sāmagāme. Tena kho pana samayena, Nigaṇṭho Nāta-putto Pāvāyaṃ adhunā kālagato hoti...(p. 244). Atha kho Cundo samanuddeso Pāvāyaṃ vassavuttho yena Sāmagāmo yen āyasmā Ānando ten upasaṃkami...(एकं समयं भगवा सक्केसु विहरति सामगामे तेन खो पन समयेन निगंठो नातपुत्तो पावायं अधुना कालगतो होति...अथ खो चुंदो समणुद्देशो पावायं वस्सवुत्थो येन सामगामो येन आयस्मा आनंदो तेन उपसंकमि ।) The conclusion is possible that Pāvā must be near Sāmagāma in the Sakka-country, but never that Buddha was in Pāvā. And also the identity of this samanuddesa Cunda with the kammāraputta of *Dīgha-Nik.* (XVI, 4, 13) is not plausible, because this latter can be the son of the older Cunda of *Dīgha-Nik.* (XXIX) and *Majjh.-Nik.* (II, 244).

131 Cf. *Cullav.* XI, 1, 1.

132 In his *Dīghanikāya-transl.* p. XLII, n. 1.

But that does not involve the necessity that Pāvā must be situated in the Sakka-country; latter, on the foot of the Nepal hills, "to the north of the modern Bastī and Gorakhpur Districts"¹³³ is near the region, where Pāvā has to be sought. It was necessary to state that, because there could arise the problem of another Pāvā; for in *Dīghanik.* (XXXIII, 1, 1) Pāvā is named 'Mallānaṃ' nagaram (मल्लनं नगरं) XXXIII, 1, 2, the Mallas are named Pāveyyaka. Because the Sakka-territory was in the neighbourhood of the Malla-territory,¹³⁴ the identity of these two Pāvās is out of question. Now there existed still a second Pāvā, says J. Charpentier,¹³⁵ near Rājagrha and this scholar denies that this Pāvā could be the same where Mahāvīra died. It is quite correct that Mahāvīra did not pass away in the Pāvā near Rājagrha, but not, because the two are not identical, rather because there did not exist a second Pāvā.

First no source is known where such a statement will be found; further the above cited passages from Buddhist works and the place of Pāvā in the list make it clear that Pāvā could only be the Malla-Pāvā.¹³⁶ Only later sources

133 Smith, *Early History* p. 29 and n. 2.

134 T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India* p. 26.

135 *The Cambridge History of India I*, Cambridge 1922, p. 163.

136 J. Charpentier, *Ind. Ant.* XLIII (1914), p. 228, cf. p. 177.- The attribute majjhima (*Kalpos*. II. 122, 123, 147) does not involve that there existed three Pāvās nor does it mean a Pāvā in the madhyadeśa; the meaning is that Mahāvīra died midden (?) in the city in the king's palace,

give the information of Mahāvīra's death in consequence of the discourse with Upāli.¹³⁷ But—it seems to me—here is a problem: we hear that Gosāla Mañkhaliputta died sixteen years before Mahāvīra¹³⁸ in consequence of an attack against the latter; the whole story of Upāli seems to be a doublet of the Gosāla-episode, inasmuch as the old texts know nothing about that.¹³⁹ The invention of a second Pāvā is due to the rencontre between Upāli and Mahāvīra, because the first visited Buddha, while staying in Nālanda; and if in the Amāvatāra Sp. Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, P. 271 stands: "In consequence of these things the tirttika declared that his rice-bowl was broken, his subsistence gone; and he went to the city of Pāvā and there died", it is like a doublet of Gosāla's end. But to conclude from this passage that Pāvā was near Nālanda or Rājagṛha is, considering the other indications, quite inadmissible.¹⁴⁰ Finally according to some passages in Jain-works there shall exist a Pāvā in the Bhamgi-country or Gambhi-territory;¹⁴¹ from other sources nothing is known about such a town.

rajjusabhā, while he otherwise—as Buddha—stayed out of the city in caityas.

137 J. Charpontior, *l. c.* p. 128.

138 *Uvās. transl.* App. p. 6 (from the *Bhagavatī* p. 1750 a).

139 J. Charpentier, *l. c.* p. 128.

140 Pāvā has been placed by H. T. Cole-brooke, *Miscellaneous Essays* (ed. by E. D. Cowell, London 1873) II, p. 193, n. 2. Near Rājagṛha, in Bibār. Cf. Fr. Koeppen, *Die Religion des Buddha*, Berlin 1906, I, p. 114 f., n. 3.

141 In Nemicandra's *Pravacanas*. (Weber, *Verzeichnis* No. 1939, p. 854 f.) Pāvā is located in the Bhamgi-country; cf. A. Weber, *Ind. stud.* XVI, d. 398 and n. 3; *Verzeichnis II*, 2, No. 1837, p. 562.

If Pāvā has been a town in the Malla-territory, then Hastipāla was a Malla-knight, a rājā in the sense of Suddhodana, Siddhārtha etc.

The foregoing remarks have shown how abundant the material is, met with in Jain-works, as well as in Buddhist literature and how the combination of both is able to elucidate some problem of geography, but also problems of general interest.

In *Suttanip.* (1011-1013) is found a short list of towns: Sāketa, Sāvattthi, Kapilavattthu, Kusinārā, Pāvā, Bhoganagara. For the age of our list it seems probable to assume a higher one; an argument for this view is already the coincidence of the Jinist and Buddhist writings, in which latter the oldest parts of the canon offer indication. An argumentum ex silentio - of course with all its weakness - is the missing of some of the towns in works of later times, like the *Purāṇas* or the *kośas* (*Hemac. Abhidh.* 973-980; *Halāy Abhidh.* II, 132; *Mahāvvyutpatti* 193).

III. MAGISTRATES.

1. State-officials.

In *Aup.* § 38 we read that the inhabitants of Campā are in excitement: Mahāvīrā is coming in the Pūrṇabhadra-caitya and the people want to worship the Saint. There wander the whole people, but also the high class of the residence to the place. A fuller list of the official persons is found in *Aup.* § 15, while *Aup.* § 48 shows a greater number, but never so a large one as § 15. This list occurs again in *Kālpas.* II. 61. (Cf. the synopsis).

Aup. § 15

- 1 gaṇanāyaga
- 2 daṇḍanāyaga
- 3 rāisara
- 4 talavara
- 5 māḍambiya
- 6 koḍumbiya
- 7 manti
- 8 mahāmanti
- 9 gaṇaya
- 10 devāriya
- 11 amacca
- 12 ceda
- 13 piḍhamadda
- 14 nagara- }
- 15 nigama } setṭhi
- 16 seṇāvai
- 17 satthavāha
- 18 dūya
- 19 sandhivāla

Aup. § 38

- 1 bhada
- 2 joha
- 3 pasatthar
- 4 rāisara
- 5 talavara
- 6 koḍumbiya
- 7 māḍambiya
- 8 setṭhi
- 9 seṇāvai
- 10 satthavāha

Aup. § 23

- 1 bhada
- 2 joha
- 3 seṇāvai
- 4 pasatthar

Aup. § 48

- 1 gaṇanāyaga
- 2 daṇḍanāyaga
- 3 rāisara
- 4 talavara
- 5 māḍambiya
- 6 koḍumbiya
- 7 setṭhi
- 8 seṇāvai
- 9 satthavāha
- 10 dūya
- 11 sandhivāla

Kalpas. II. § 61

- 1 gaṇanāyaga
- 2 daṇḍanāyaga
- 3 rāisara
- 4 talavara
- 5 māḍambiya
- 6 koḍumbiya
- 7 manti
- 8 mahāmanti
- 9 gaṇaga
- 10 devāriya

- 11 amacca
- 12 ceda
- 13 piḍhamadd
- 14 nagara- }
- 15 nigama- } sitṭhi
- 16 seṇāvai
- 17 satthavāha
- 18 dūya
- 19 samdhipāla

To consider first the passage *Aup.* § 38 the names rājanya, kṣatriya and brāhmaṇa offer no interest; there may be discussed those terms which are missing in the other lists.

bhaḍa. The bhaḍa, bhaṭa in *Skt.*, is a kind of soldier; the next standing yodha (johā) makes it probable that he was of a higher degree. In the dramatic works by Bhāsa the bhaṭa, often occurring, has the employment to bring reports to the king and officials and from them. There is little doubt that the word is a Prakritism of *Skt.* bhr̥ta; the meaning may be "sergeant."¹⁴²

pasatthar. Leumann cites in his *Glossary* i. v. p. 136: dharmasāstrapāṭhaka. It is very doubtful what a scholar in law-books had to do in the neighbourhood of soldiers. In *Aup.* § 23 occur bhaḍā johā senāvaī pasatthāro (भडा जोहा सेनावई पसत्थारो); that here so peaceful a man like a dharmasāstra-scholar could be meant is impossible, the context compels rather to the explanation of the word as a military term. Indeed, the prasāstr of the *Kauṭ. Arthas.* is the commander-in-chief of the technical body of an army.¹⁴³

The following names of knights: Mallas, Licchavis and Licchaviputras would deserve a historical digression, which, however, restricted only to this passage, would be valueless. There- with the terms are attached which are found in the fuller list.

¹⁴² In the *Deśināmamālā* 289 the word goho "man" is explained by bhaṭa; cf. J. Charpentier, *Indo-germanische Forschungen* XXIX (1911-1912) p. 380 f.

¹⁴³ Cf. *SWA* 191, 5 p. 157 f.

1. gaṇanāyaga is Skt. gaṇanāyaka, the "leader of a gaṇa". Few terms are so ambiguous like gaṇa; the different meanings are discussed by R. Mookerji and R. Ch. Majumdar.¹⁴⁴ The Comm. on *Kalpas* II. 61 explains prakṛtimahattarā, an insignificant expression, the higher officials of the people, or, if prakṛti means here one of the fundamental elements of the government, the higher officials of the amātya-prakṛti. But such an explanation is hardly correct, because the special resorts of the government are represented by individual persons as daṇḍanāyaga, mahāmanti, amacca and others. The common meaning of gaṇa, "corporation," in any sense, political, mercantile, seems also to be less plausible, in consequence of the titles, enumerated in the list. And in the same way there must be rejected an explanation of gaṇa in the sense of a religious community.¹⁴⁵ Gaṇa has originally the meaning of attendents, gaṇanāyaka could be therefore the leader of the attendents; but that is proved for the attendents of a deity (cf. P. W. s. v.) and not for those of a king. In Varāhamihira's *Brhatsaṃhitā* (XV, 15) gaṇanāyaka occurs, but also here the meaning is doubtful; if the foregoing śauryasametā can be attached to the substantive, then the gaṇanāyaka would mean the leader of a military corps. The P. W.¹⁴⁶ cites the meaning of a tactic part of an

144 *Local Government*, p. 31, 34 f; and passim; *Corporate Life* p. 230 ff., cf. the Index s. v.

145 Nearly all the meanings of gaṇa occur in Kullūka's Comm. on *Munu*; cf. I, 118; III, 164; IV, 209, 219.

146 s. v. gaṇa 4., cf. E. W. Hopkins, *JAOS* XIII, p. 196 f.

army, consisting of 3 gulmas with 27 chariots and elephants, 81 horses and 135 footmen. But an objection cannot be suppressed: that such a comparatively low officer should rank before others, evidently higher officers? But with these remarks the possibilities of an explanation of *gana* are not yet exhausted. *Kalpas.* (II. 128) speaks from the *nava Mallāi nava Lecchaī Kāśī-Kosalagā aṭṭhārasa vi gana-rāyāno* (नव मल्लइ नव लेच्छइ कासीकोसलग बट्टारस वि गणसयानो) and the Comm. says, that these knights formed a *gana*: *gaṇam melakam*¹⁴⁷ *kurvantīti* (गणं मेलकं कुर्वन्तीति गणराजानो...चेदक्रमहाराजस्य सामन्ताः श्रूयन्ते ते). Here *gana* means also a corporation, but in political sense, the vassals of king *Cetaka*. In our passage, however, this meaning is unlikely because *gaṇarājas* were eighteen in number, while in *Aup* (15), and *Kalpas*, (II. 61) are mentioned *aneka* (many) *gaṇanāyaka*s. Therefore it remains the most plausible explanation to take *gaṇanāyaka* as military title "commander of a *gana*".¹⁴⁸

- 147 Of *melāpaka* in *Pañcatantra*, ed. Kielhorn-Bühler (6th ed.) Part III, p. 48, 18. For the political meaning of *gana* cf. R. Ch. Majumdar, *I. c. p. t.* 223, §3 and H. K. Deb, *ZII I* (1922), p. 289 f.
- 148 An official bears the title *gaṇapaka* in inscription 103 f., of. p. 104, n. 2); but E. Senart (*Ep. Ind.* VIII, p. 89) prefers to translate "accountant." Perhaps *gaṇapālaka* in Kṣemendra's *Samayamātrkā* VI, is affiliated with the term *gaṇanāyaka*; next comes *gaṇamukhya* *Mhbh.* XII, 107, 23, where the "ganas are śūrajanastoma" a multitude of heroic men, correspond to the śreṇī-soldiers of the *Arihaṣ.* cf. H. K. Deb *I. c. p.* 291; *SWA* 191, 5 p. 151 f.

2. *daṇḍanāyaga*, in Skt. *daṇḍanāyaka*, is explained by the Comm. on *Kalpas*. (II. 61) with *tantrapāla*. *Rājyatantra* is the government, like *rājyacintā*—the political administration.¹⁴⁹ In *Tantrākhy*. (6, 14) we have the quite adequate term *tantradhāra*. The real explanation of the term has to go another way, because such general renderings are only the expression of the Comm.'s ignorance. *Daṇḍam nī* or *praṇī*, from which phrase *daṇḍanāyaka* is derived, is the duty of the king, viz. to punish and therewith to exercise his power *Manu* (VII, 14 ff.); an exponent of this power is the judge, the head of a village or other substitutes of the king. But, as remarked above, the meaning of *daṇḍanāyaka* here is hardly that of a police-master,¹⁵⁰ because we will meet a term to which must be attributed this sense.

149 Cf. Th. Zachariae, *Beiträge zur indischen Lexikographie*, Berlin 1883, p. 44 f.; A. Hillebrandt, *Ueber das Kauṣīliyaśāstra*, Breslau 1908 (sep.) p. 18.

150 *Hitopadeśa* (ed. Peterson) II, p. 71, l. 6, 13 ff. occurs the *daṇḍanāyaka* of a *grāma*. A policeman or police-master is the *daṇḍapāśika* in the *Śukasaptati* (ed. R. Schmidt *AKM* X, 1, p. 139, 12); *Kathākośa* (transl. by C. H. Tawney) p. XXIII, n. * Similar expressions for this office are *daṇḍādhipatya* in Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* I, 186 or *daṇḍavāsika* *ibid.* I, 3, 83, 95, 138, 185; another title is said to be *caṇḍapāśika* in Vādirājasūri's *Yaśodhacarita* (Joh. Hertel, *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Bd. 69, 4. Heft, 1917-p. 91, n. 3). In the Gupta period we find a *daṇḍapā*,

The P. W. s. v. *daṇḍanāyaka* cites already *Hemas. Abhidh.* (725); *Varāham. Brhats.* (LXXIII, 4) mention this term by the side of *senāpati*, and in Kalhana's *Rājatar.* the word is found on several places.¹⁵¹ In the *Jñātādharmaśūtrapāṭha*¹⁵² occur a *daṇḍanāyaka* and a *senānāyaka*. We meet it on a coin identified with those of Devarāya from Vijayanagara (15. cent A. D.); in Kanarese it is spelt *ḍanāyaka*¹⁵³ in the form *ḍanāyakaru*. *Daṇḍanāyaka* was also the title of the Hoysala chiefs *Ep. Ind VII, App.* p. 68 ff., No 383 ff.); in the *Mahāvīyutpatti* (186, 15 f.) are enumerated *daṇḍamukhya*, *daṇḍanāyaka* and (186, 17) *senāpati*. In the *Kaut. Arthas.*¹⁵⁴ the officer bears the title *nāyaka* as in Kāmandaki's *Nitisāra* (XIX, 45); *Varāham. Brhats.* (XXXV, 7) etc. (cf. P. W. s. v.). About the military character of this officer there cannot exist a doubt; his degree is evidently a high one; he is in the list apparently the first military functionary. From the sources,

sādhikarapa "the chief of police" (J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, London 1914, p. XLI).

151 The term *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* we meet on clay seals, belonging circa to the 3.-5- cent. A. D.; cf. J. H. Marshall, *JRAS* 1911, p. 136, 139. J. Allan l. c. p. XLI gives "judge"; that is in no way convincing, because the *balādhikarapa* seems to be more an administrative official so that there would be missing the leading chief of the military forces.

152 *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of Calcutta Skt. College*, vol. X. (1909), No 82, p. 165.

153 *Ind. Ant.* XX, (1891), p. 304 and n. 7.

154 *SWA* 191, 5 p. 156-158.

cited in P. W. and above, the deduction is permitted that the title is not of high age.¹⁵⁵

3. *rāīsara*, corresponding to a Skt. *rājeśvara*, caused already to the Comm. difficulties. The *Kalpas*.-Comm. explains, separating the compound: *rājāno māṇḍalikāḥ*, *īśvarā yuvarājāḥ*, *aṇimādyaiśvaryayuktā ityanye*¹⁵⁶ (राजानो माण्डलिकाः, ईश्वरा युवराजाः, अणिमाद्यैश्वर्ययुक्ता इत्यन्ये ।). The literal sense of the word, taken as a compound, would be “lord of kings”; that is here impossible, because the king, surrounded by these *rāīsaras* and other personalities, is himself the lord of kings. Therefore the separating of the two parts of the compound is the single possible way of interpretation. *Māṇḍalika* is quite intelligible: it is a king, who belongs to the *maṇḍala*, the political circle consisting of the neighbouring kings.¹⁵⁷ The word *māṇḍalika* is found four times in *Varāham. Brhats.* (IV, 15; XLVI, 11; XLVIII, 47; LXIX, 23); *Kathāsarits.* (XCVIII, 5); *Kāmand. Nītis* (VIII, 54) explained by: *svamaṇḍalādhipatīn rājñāḥ* (स्वमाण्डलाधिपतीन् राज्ञः ।). *Mahāvvyūtpatti* has by the side of *yuvarāja* (186, 4) *maṇḍalikarāja*. Less simple is the explanation of *īsara* (*īśvara*). The Comm. says *yuvarāja*, but other authorities take it as “lords trusted with the lordship over a small territory (*aṇimādi*?).” *īśvara* is found in a Nāsik-cave-inscription of *Vāsīṭhīputa Siri Puḷumāyi Ep. Ind.* (VIII, p. 60., 1. 11), but the interpretation of “lord” (p. 62) for the grandson

155 The references in the Epic are generally worthless in this connexion.

156 The Comm. on *Aup.* has *matāmtareṇāṇi*°

157 Cf. N. N. Law, *Ind. Ant.* XLIX (1920), p. 121-136; 145-152; 167-173.

offers no further elucidation than that *īśvara* must have been a high degree, perhaps a governor, in the official-career, and occupied by relatives.

4. *talavara*. *īśara*, *talavara* and some of the following terms occur again in the *Jñātā-dharmakathās*,¹⁵⁸ in the *Jambudvipaprajñapti-sūtra*,¹⁵⁹ *talavara* is found in many works, not even belonging to the Siddhānta, but for the most part to the profane Jinist literature. In a Ms. (it seems of recent date) of Hāla's *Sattasaī*¹⁶⁰ we meet the word *talāraputta*; *talāra* in the *Sukasaptati*,¹⁶¹ *talārika* in the *Kathākosa*,¹⁶² *Hemacandra Arhantīti* (p. 14, verse 75; p. 198, verse 6) knows the word *talārakṣa* like the *Campā-kasreṣṭhikathānaka*¹⁶³ (74). While the Comm. on *Kalpas*. explains: *parituṣṭa-narapatipradattapaṭṭa-bandhavibhūṣitā rājasthānīyāḥ* (परितुष्ट-नरपतिप्रदत्तपट्टवन्धविभूषिता राजस्थानीयाः) king's substitutes which are adorned with head-bands bestowed upon them by the king who is well minded to them. The Scholion on *Jambudvipaprajñ.* (fol. 98 b Weber l. c. p. 581, n. 3) says quite similar: *talavaraṇ samtuṣṭanarapatipradattasauvarṇapaṭṭālamkṛtāśiraskāḥ* (तलवरः

158 A. Weber, *Verzeichnis* No 1792, p. 471; cf. *Ind. Stud.* XVI, p. 313.

159 A. Weber, *Verzeichnis* No 1844, p. 581.

160 In the Ms. Rm. it means perhaps the Skt. phrase; *AKM* VII, 4, p. 13, Verse 30.

161 ed. R. Schmidt, *AKM* X (1897), p. X, 104, 6,

162 Transl. by C. H. Tawney, p. XXIII, n.*

163 *ZDMG* LXV (1911), p. 28; further references are cited by the editor and translator of the text, Joh. Hertel, *ibid.* p. 46 and 464, n. 6.

संतुष्टनरपतिप्रदत्तसौवर्णपट्टालङ्कृतशिरस्कः). The profane works, on the contrary, admit no doubt that the talārakṣa was either the head of the police in a town or village, or an ordinary watchman; also the talayāris of the 16. cent. in the Naik-kingdom (*Ind. Ant.* XLIV [1915], p. 72. f.) or of the 18. cent. (*ibid*; XLIX [1920], p. 36) have the latter meaning. From lexicographical literature the word talavara is cited in the form talavāri or taravāri (*Hemac. Abhidh.* 782); according to the P. W. s. v. and A. Weber¹⁶⁴ the Skt. karabālikā should be derived from tarabālikā, and appears in an etymologised form as karapāla etc., all these words, however, have the meaning "sword." For the last statements the view held by Weber seems to go too far, because *Hemac. Abhidh.* (792) knows karabāla and taravāri, (785) karabālikā, so that there must have existed some differences. R. Pischel¹⁶⁵ explained the word talāra as a derivation from Marāṭhī talvār = *Skt. talavāra, tala = "ground," in Marāṭhī also the "place of encampment" or a "camp" and a "tract of ground"; vāra from the root var = "guardian, watchman." This etymology seems to be hardly correct, because in Gujarātī taravāra is feminine and means "sword," what would be impossible, when the original Skt.-word would be tala-vāra. One fact is undeniable: that talavara is not an Indian, or better, not an Āryan word; for the Scholion on *Hemac. Abhidh.* (795) says already: turuṣkāyudh-

164 *Ind. Stud.* XVI, p. 38 f.

165 *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* hgb. von A. Bezzenberger, III (1879), p. 261.

am karabālikā, tarabāliketyanye (तुरुष्कायुषं करवालिका तरवालिकेत्यन्ये ।). Weber referred (l. c. p. 89) to the Persian tarwāl; to accept his semasiological explanation, is too much for the standpoint of a grammarian, because this word has only the meaning "a blade of green," but, on the other hand, the Scholiast would never have referred to the foreign (Turkish) origin of the word, if it would not correspond to the views of his own time. The word talavara has certainly a long history in vernacular speeches as in Pkt and Skt.¹⁶⁶

None of the works, in which the form taravāri occurs, can be assigned to a certain time; but karavāla and forms like this must be attributed to later times, because the assumed reception and the process of etymologising needs some time; Dhanapāla seems to be the oldest proof for this term.

5. māḍambiya. The term, coming next in the list, corresponds to a Skt. māḍambika; the character of this official is clear inasmuch as he must be the head of one or of a number of maḍambas. The Comm. on *Kalpas.* says: māḍalikāśchinn¹⁶⁷ amaḍambādhipāh (माण्डलिकाच्छिन्नमण्डम्बाधिपाः ।),

166 Besides the references in the P. W. the kofas know one or the other form of the word: Dhanapāla 37: karavāla; Hemac. *Uṇādigaṇasūtra* 480 Comm.: karavāla; Halāyudha *Abhidh.* II, 317: karabāla; *Amarakośa* II, 8, 57: karapāla; 59: karapālikā (v. l.: karabālikā); *Viṣṭay.* 117, 324: taravāri; *Mahāv.* *utpatti-* 186, 59: kāravālika. — I am not sure, whether Taravara on the seals, mentioned by Allan, l. c., is a proper name or the title of an official.
Read: māḍambikās

and of the same tenor runs the explanation of the *Aup.-Comm.* There is today no place for Bühler's suggestion to bring the word in connexion with maṇḍapa-maṇḍapikā or the modern māṇḍavī for whose occurrence, see *Ep. Ind.* (I, p. 101, 117, 166, 270), since the correction by Leumann (*ibid.* II, p. 484 f., cf 485). A conclusion about the degree of a māḍambika is not possible; he stands, indeed, between the raṭṭhika (rāṣṭrika¹⁶⁸) and deśādhikaṭa (deśādhikṛta), what would speak for the rank of a governor of a middle-sized territory. But it must be remarked that the amaccas (amātya) rank between herdsmen and guards, so that the order in the list gives no hold for the determination of the rank. Nevertheless the term māḍambika belongs hardly to a high age, though only the record of the eighth cent. A. D. can be adduced.

6. koḍumbiya, in Skt. kauṭumbika, is explained by the Comm. on *Kalpās.*: kauṭumbikāḥ katipayakuṭumbaprabhavo valagakāḥ, grāma-mahattarā vā कौटुम्बिकाः कतिपयकुटुम्बप्रभवो वलगकाः, ग्राममहत्तरा वा ॥). There is no doubt that the term cannot be the ordinary husbandman in a list of functionaries of a pronounced official character. The term is known by an inscription of Vāsīṭhiputa Sīri Puṣumāyi (Lüders' *List* No 1147); the opinion¹⁶⁹ has been expressed "that the middle

168 Cf. *Ind. Ant.* XLIII (1919), p. 80, n. 4.

169 By D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ind. Ant.* XLVIII (1919), p. 80.—None or little stress can be laid on koḍumbiya, which is said to be the younger form of the older koḍambiya. Cf. A. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* XVII, p. 26, n. 1.

class, which consisted chiefly of cultivators and mercantile people, was split up into a number of *grihās*, i. e. homesteads, or *kuṭumbas* or *kulas*, i. e. families, the head of each one of which was considered to be so important a personage as to require to be designated *Grihapati* or *Kuṭumbin*." This view can be hardly accepted in general, and still less in particular here. There is nothing surprising that a *kuṭumbika*, *Dhanama* with name, has excavated a cave; it is rather very common, from the standpoint of epigraphy, that a founder or giver of pious investments or gifts immortalizes his name and, for distinction, denounces his profession. The special argument against the view held by *Bhandarkar* is the list itself, in which officials occur. Therefore an explanation of the rare word *avalagaka* must be attempted.

Avalagaka is found in an inscription from *Dudhpani* (in the *Hazāribāgh District*, Bengal) which must on palaeographical reasons be assigned to about the eighth cent. A. D. In line 6 f. the reader is informed that the king of *Magadha*, *Ādisimha*, came once for hunting elephants, as it seems, in the *aṭavī*, in the forest. He assembled the people of the third part of the *palli* and ordered "Give, you, me, today an *avalagaka*, quickly!" At this time three brothers, merchants with great property, spent (?) in this *palli*. The people asked the oldest of them for an *avalagana* for the king; he sent it and became in consequence of it a favourite of the king and after other honours he became the *rāja*

of the palli Bhramaraśālmali.¹⁷⁰ The suggestion is probable that a king or knight, when he comes in a distant part of his dominion and asks the people for anything in the words: "give me it quickly," can ask in this manner only for a tax. This view is further supported by the consideration that the people, poor as it may have been, went to the merchants, about the wealth of which it has heard, and asked the oldest for an avalagana; through avalagana he reached his position. A merchant has merchandise and money; the king asked for a certain thing; that can be only money, because merchandise is not the property of a palli, which can be sent quickly. Avalagana is found in *Tantrākhy.* p 18, 2;¹⁷¹ *Hemac. Parisiṣṭaparvan* (VIII,12); the corresponding passage in *Pañcatantra* (sixth edition by Kielhorn-Bühler I, p. 28) shows that a person, to win the confidence of another person, honours the second in each manner. Translated in the relation between a king and his subjects it means to give present to the first. Such presents are known from peoples of the ancient world as from Indian literature. Though H. Zimmer's view¹⁷² about bali, a voluntary tribute to the king, has

170 The further events are not of interest here.

171 Hertel refers to Munisundara, *Upadeśaratnākara* (v. the Glossary in his *Tantrākhyāyika*-edition s. v. p. 170).

172 *Altindisches Leben* p. 166.— For analogies in Babylonian cf. B. Meissner *Babylonien und Assyrien* (*Kulturgeschichtliche Bibliothek I, 3,*) Heidelberg 1920 p. 143.

been rejected by Keith-Macdonell,¹⁷³ the existence of voluntary offerings for later times cannot be denied. Besides with references in the Epic¹⁷⁴ may be compared an epigraphical testimony from Rudradāman's inscription¹⁷⁵ and the *Dharmasūtra*.¹⁷⁶

So we are entitled to translate avalagana "love-tax" and avalagaka-n. is evidently the same, while the masculine is the donor-an avalagana ('ka°). Kauṭumbika would be therefore the representatives of the middle-class, which had the duty to present to the king voluntary presents, taxes.

7. mantrin and 8. mahāmantrin, the Skt.-equivalents of manti and mahāmanti, are explained by the Comm.: mantriṇaḥ sacivāḥ, resp. mahāmantriṇo mahāmātyā mantrimaṇḍalapradhānā hastisādhanādhyakṣā vā (मन्त्रिणः सचिवाः, महामन्त्रिणो महामाला मन्त्रिमण्डलप्रधाना हस्तिसाधनाध्यक्षा वा ॥). The first explanation, that of mantrin with saciva, is nothing but a superficial tautology,¹⁷⁷ because in Indian literature there is never drawn a strict difference between saciva, mantrin and amātya. The best proof for

173 *Vedic Index* II, p. 62 s. v. bali. W. Foy, *Die königliche Gewalt nach den altindischen Rechtsbüchern*, Leipzig 1895, p. 38. Cf. also the Comm. on *Arthas.* 93, 17 in I. J. Sorabji's Notes p. 39.

174 E. W. Hopkins, *JAOS* XIII, p. 91.

175 J. F. Fleet, *JRAS* 1909, p. 761 f.

176 W. Foy, *l. c.* p. 52.

177 Perhaps saciva is used here in the sense of buddhisaciva, the antitheses to karmasaciva as in Kāmand. *Nitis.* Comm. IV, 80; cf. Rudradāman's inscription l. 17: matisaciva and karmasaciva. *SWA* 191, 5 p. 176 ff.

this statement is the explanation of mahāmantrin with mahāmātya, while amātya occurs itself in the list. The mantrin is the councillor of the king; the number of these councillors is variable. Mahāmantrin may be either the president of the mantrins¹⁷⁸ or only a higher degree of a mantrin. But never he can be understood as the official who trains the king's elephants; the statement of the Comm. is due to a confusion of mahāmantrin and mahāmātra.¹⁷⁹ The mahāmantrin may correspond to the mukhyamantrin, occurring also in the *Rājatar*.¹⁸⁰

9 gaṇaya = Skt. gaṇaka; according to the *Kalpās*-Comm., who says: gaṇakā jyotiṣikā bhāṇḍāgārikā vā (गणका ज्योतिषिका भाण्डागारिका वा ।), the gaṇaka is an astrologer or the official of the king's store-house. The latter explanation is inaccurate, because generally the term means an accountant. So Somadevasūri in his *Nītivā-kyāmṛta* (printed Bombay, Grantharatnamālā p. 56, l. 1) explains the spy in the disguise of a gaṇaka as follows: saṅkhyāviddāivajño vā (संख्याविद्वैवज्ञो वा ।). The gaṇaka is known to the *Yajurveda*¹⁸¹ in the sense of "astrologer". It is more likely that an astrologer appears in the list of officials

178 Perhaps the mantripariṣadadhykṣa of the *Arthaś.*, for which view the first explanation of the *Kalpās*-Comm. can be adduced.

179 Cf. *SWA* l. c. p. 191 f.

180 Cf. J. Jolly, *Gurupūjākaumudā* p. 85.—The title mahāmantrin is found in a Ms. of *Jñātādharmaśūtra-pāṭha* (*Catalogue of the Skt. College Calcutta*, X, p. 165, No. 82).

181 Cf. Keith-Macdonell, *Vedic Index* s. v. I, p. 218.

and notabilities than an accountant. On the other hand the king's astrologers are known under the names *kārtāntika*, *naimittika* and *mauhūrtika*.¹⁸²

10 *dovāriya*, *dauvārika* in Skt., is explained by the *Aup.-Comm.*: *pratihārā rājadvārikā vā* (प्रतिहार राजद्वारिका वा ।). In the *Jātakas* the rank which is occupied by the *devārika* seems to be low;¹⁸³ but it is difficult to say, whether there are not meant subjects of the *dauvārika*, strictly speaking. At least the position of the *dauvārika* in the *Arthas*¹⁸⁴ is such a high one that quite changed circumstances or a long development have to be assumed, for he is a member of the *tīrthas*, therewith one of the highest functionaries of the government. An epigraphical proof for this term *dauvārika* seems to be unknown; in the *Rājatar.* (V, 28) he occurs more exceptionally; the common designation is *pratihāra*, also *mahā-pratihāra*, both mentioned in inscriptions.¹⁸⁵

11 *amacca*, Skt. *amātya*, is so common a word that all the kinds of councillors and officials bear it in the literature. But as shown elsewhere¹⁸⁶ *amātya* is not the designation for the functionary of a certain board, rather that of a class, sc. of the highest officials, the ministry of the middle

182 *SWA* 191, 5 p. 238 f. The *bhāṇḍāgārika*, though the *gaṇaka* is not identified with him, is found in an inscription of Jayacandra of Kanauj (1187 A. D.), s. *Ind. Ant.* XV (1886), p. 1. 15 a *raṇabhāṇḍāgārādhi-karaṇa* occurs on clay-seals, s. J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties* p. XLI.

183 R. Pick, *Die sociale Gliederung* p. 102.

184 *SWA* I. c. p. 77.

185 J. Jolly, *Gurupūjūk*, p. 85.

186 *SWA* I. c. p. 184.

age. The Comm. says therefore correctly: rājyādhiṣṭhāyikāḥ, "which have the care for administration of the kingdom." Therefore also here the amaccas must be understood as the highest officials of the defferent departments.

12 ceḍa The Comm. on *Kalpas* (II.) explains this word as follows: ceṭaḥ pādamūlikā dāsā vā (चेदः पादमूलिका दासा वा ।). Pādamūlika means probably a valet; but also with this assumption it is at least remarkable that a servant, may he be as familiar to the person of the king as possible or an ordinary slave, ranks in the list before the seṭṭhis and senāvais etc. No less remarkable is the following term.

13 pīḍhamadda, is the pīṭhamarda of the poetical works.¹⁸⁷ This person is not found in the dramatical literature; should his existence be ascribed only to the theoretical literature of Indian drama? The Comm. on *Kalpas*. explains: pīṭhamardā āsthāne (!) āsanasevakā vayasyā ityarthaḥ, veśyācāryā vā (पीठमर्दा आस्थाने (!) आसनसेवका वयस्या इत्यर्थः, वेद्याचार्या वा ॥); the Comm. on *Aup.* has: viṭaḥ¹⁸⁸ pādamūlikāḥ pīṭhamardāḥ āsthāne...ityarthaḥ (विटः पादमूलिकाः पीठमर्दाः आस्थाने...इत्यर्थः ॥). This explanation seems to have been taken from the conception of a pīṭha, bank, seat in the audience-hall of the king; the second, that of a veśyācārya, is borrowed from the poetical literature.¹⁸⁹ Here the pīṭhamarda is

187 Cf. Sten Konow, *Das indische Drama* (Grundriss II, 2 D), p. 14.

188 Should viṭa be another reading for ceṭa?

189 Cf. R. Schmidt, *Beiträge zur indischen Erotik*, 2. (ed., Berlin 1911, p. 142, 144) where the texts are collected.

described as the companion of the nāyaka, but only as the reconciliator of angry women;¹⁰⁰ Vātsyāyana states in *Kāmasūtra* (p. 57 f.,) that he is a teacher, but by mere of the nāyaka; because he is well-versed in the arts of the gaṇikās Kṣemendra describes in the *Samayamātṛkā* (I, 8) the nāpita as a gaṇikāguru and kāmipāṇ narmasuhṛd¹⁰¹ (कामिणी नर्मसुहृद्); in *Arthas.* (125, 13 ff.) seem to have existed special schools for teaching the gaṇikās in their 64 kalās or arts. But in *Hemac. Abhidh.* (330) we find veśyācāryah pīṭhamardah (वेद्याचार्यः पीठमर्दः) like in the *Vaijayantī* (141, 139), differing from *Anekārthas.* (IV, 143); perhaps from this source the Comm. has borrowed his science.

Unable to explain the occurrence of the ceṭa and pīṭhamarda in this list there the assumption is possible, either that these terms are taken from the poetical literature¹⁰² or that these two persons really existed. If the latter assumption is correct, then they must have had a high degree and cannot be understood as ordinary servants. King Virāṭa has in his palace rathins, pīṭhamardas, hastyārohas and naigamas. Nīlakaṇṭha explains pīṭhamarda here with rājapriyāḥ, but cites then the *Medinikosa* with the common explanation.

14 nagara-, 15 nigama-setṭhi. The Comm. on *Kalpas.* (II.) takes in his explanation

190 *Ibid* No. 7, 9, 10.

191 This is, indeed, the office of the pīṭhamarda on the side of the nāyaka.

192 Cf. the reading of the *Aup.-Comm.* and n. 188 (above).

of these three words each for an independent term, as follows: *nāgarā* *nagaravāsiprakṛtayo* *rājadeyavibhāgāḥ*; *nigamāḥ* *kāraṇikā* *vaṇijo vā*, *śreṣṭhinaḥ* *śrīdevatādhyāsitasauvarṇapattābhṛṣito* *ttamaṅgāḥ* (नागरा नगरवासिप्रकृतयो राजदेयविभागाः; निगमाः कारणिका वणिजो वा; श्रेष्ठिनः श्रीदेवताध्यासितसौवर्णपट्टभूषितोत्तमाङ्गाः ॥). Apart from the real interpretation there exists a grammatical doubt in adopting the view held by the Comm. Pkt. *nagara* shall be here *Kalpas.* (II. 61) a Skt. *nāgara*, a *vrddhi*-form of *nagara*. The latter must be exactly *ṇaara* or, with *yaśruti*, *ṇayara* or *ṇayara*.¹⁹³ In *Kalpas.* (II. 89) stands *nagara-tṭhāṇaesu-nagarastāneṣu*, therefore a Pkt. *nagara* represents in this text a Skt. *nagara*; and the Comm. himself has attempted an etymology of *nagara* in *Kalpas.* 89 (cf. n. 4). *Nigama*, as also shown before does never mean a “trader,” rather “trader’s place,” “town,” or “traders’ body;” here the last meaning is impossible. The juxtaposition of *nagara* and *nigama* is the best proof that both stand on the same step as the parts of a *tatpuruṣa*-compound, whose base-ward is *seṭṭhi*. The same formation in *nagaraguttiya* in *Aup.* (§45 f.); therefore *nagara* in *Kalpas* (61) can also be only Skt. *nagara*. Then we have to interpret “the *śreṣṭhins* of *nagaras* (towns) and *nigamas* (traders’ places).”

The guild has been in the past time a favourite theme of Indian scholars, though already some years before R. Fick,¹⁹⁴ E. W. Hopkins¹⁹⁵

193 Cf. *Kalpas.* II. 15, n. 3; 122, n. 3; R. Pischel, *Prākṛit Grammatik* § 187; for *ṇaara* § 186; for *nagara* § 256, 366 a.

194 *Die sociale Gliederung* p. 172 ff.

195 *Yale Review* 1898, p. 24 ff. = *India Old and New*, New York 1902, p. 169 ff.

and Mrs. A. C. F. Rhys Davids¹⁹⁶ have furnished valuable contributions: Here only the position of the setthi is of interest; he has to be taken as the representative of the tradership in the nagara and nigama, whereby the question may be put aside, whether he was identical with the headman of the guild, though it may have been generally the case. Namely the title setthi has been attributed to a certain class of rich merchants, also to whole families.¹⁹⁷ The nagara-sreṣṭhin has till to-day his descendant in the modern Nagar-Sheth,¹⁹⁸ "a title of honour given to the head-man of the city." And the nigama-sreṣṭhin can also be tested by an epigraphical record (Lüders' List No 1261), where a sethipamukha of the pious nigama is mentioned; he was probably the representative of the setthis in the nigama.¹⁹⁹ Conforming to these relations also today exists "a distinction

196 JRAS 1901, p. 865 ff.

197 Cf. R. Fick, l. c. p. 167 f., n. 1. In *Aup.* § 38 and 48 the text reads *ibbha* (*ibhya*, rich) for *nagaranigama*.

198 E. W. Hopkins, l. c. p. 32 f. (= p. 179 f.). The same scholar remarks (p. 32, resp. p. 179) that also Nagar-Sheth is a title applied to wealthy traders, "but properly it is bestowed upon a prominent civilian who may or may not be a merchant."

199 E. Hultzsch gives ZDMG XXXVII (1883), p. 557, No. 29 the following translation of this Amarāvati-inscription: "The pure gift of Chadakica, of the head of the merchants, of the pious trader." *Ibid* XL (1886), p. 344, No. 29: "A sūci, the gift of Chadakica, the head of the merchants, of the pious townsman". Nigama is never a merchant; bhadanigama is the pious nigama, because another inscription, as noted already

between the village-guild and the guild of a large town;²⁰⁰ without doubt the nagaraśreṣṭhin²⁰¹ had a higher degree than his colleague of the nigama.

For these reasons the explanation of the Comm. must be rejected; interesting is that of the śreṣṭhin, if understood correctly: "the śreṣṭhins bear their heads adorned with golden head-bands, on which the goddess Śrī stays."

16 senāvai, Skt. senāpati, commonly translated by "general", is explained by the Comm.: senāpatayo nṛpanirūpitāścaturāṅgasainyanāyakāḥ (सेनापतयो नृपनिरूपिताश्चतुरङ्गसैन्यनायकाः।). Though this rendering is generally correct, the fact that the senāpati is inserted between the śreṣṭhins and sārthavāhas (below 17), remains remarkable.²⁰² If there would not be found in all passages senāvai, without a various reading, the reading senīvai-śreṇīpati "guild-head" could be conjectured. Though śreṇī is rendered in Pkt. with seḍhi (cf. R. Pischel, *Prakrit-Grammatik* §66, n. 1; *Aup.* §16, 33), Pischel is right in deriving seḍhi from *seṭṭhi for siṭṭhi-śiṣṭi; śreṇī has to be in Pkt. senī or senī, both of which forms appear in Pkt.-inscriptions (Lüders' List No 1162, 1165,

by Hultzsch, *l. c.* XXXVII, p. 557, in Lüders' List No. 1153, has dhammanigama. H. Kern (*Ind. Stud.* XIV, p. 395), interprets the expression "confessor of the Dharma," literally: "One for whom the Dharma is authoritative" ("Einer, für den der Dharma Autoritätsquelle ist").

200 Hopkins, *l. c.* p. 31, resp. p. 178.

201 Cf. Joh. Hertel, *Geist des Ostens* I (1914), p. 187.

202 If the daṇḍanāyaka and gaṇanāyaka have been correctly interpreted, there are two officers; the separation of the senāpati from these is quite unintelligible.

1180),²⁰³ and the cognomen of Bimbisāra was Seniya-Śreṇika e. g. *Uvās.* (VIII, § 231). On the other hand it is uncertain whether the term senīvai = śreṇīpati in the meaning "head of a guild" is found elsewhere; certain is the absolute difference between the assumed sense here and the term śreṇīmukha in the *Arthas.*

Adopting the reading senāpati this officer must be understood as one of a lower rank than the daṇḍanāyaka mentioned above. While in the *Arthas.* senāpati means the general-in-chief, the word here cannot have the same meaning. For he would never be placed nearly at the end of the list; therefore it is probable that he was a general, the leader of one of the four āngas of the army.²⁰⁴ In the *Mahāvīryupatti* (186, 16 f.) occur daṇḍanāyaka, senāpati in a list beginning with the king and ending with a fisher. In *Aup.* (§ 23) senāvai stands before pasatthāro, indicating perhaps, because the foregoing soldiers are bhaḍā, jodhā, the lower degree; in inscriptions are found senāpati, mahāsenāpati.

17 satthavāha, in Skt. sārthavāha, explained by the Comm. with sārthanāyakāḥ, "the leaders of caravans," has to be understood as the designation of a certain class of merchants. In the *Jātakas* are found indications²⁰⁵ justifying

203 Should there exist some connexion between the nouns: seṭṭhi = śreṣṭhin, and seṭṭhi = seḍhi = śreṇī? It means that seḍhi is derived from śreṇī, but a misunderstood analogous form to seṭṭhi, the "head of a śreṇī."

204 There exists, it seems, a second kind of senāpati in the *Arthas.*, cf. *SWA* l. c. p. 160.

205 Cf. R. Pick, *Die soc. Gliederung* p. 176-178; *SWA* l. c. p. 146.

the assumption that the sathavāhas were "whole-sale merchants," "exporting merchants," which are known also from the narrative literature. In Lüder's *List* (No 1062) the founder of a cave is styled as sathavāha and gahapati; a proof that the sārthavāhas were a class for themselves; here, in the list, the representative of this class is intelligible.

18 dūya, dūta in Skt.; the Comm. explains: dūtā anyeṣāṃ gatvā rājādeśavedakāḥ (दूता अन्येषां गत्वा राजादेशवेदकाः ।). The Comm. on *Aup.* has deśanivedakāḥ. He is the ambassador, known from the Besnagar-inscription (Lüder's *List*. No 669) as well as from the *Arthas.* Kāmandaki etc. In a condensed form in prose the *Nītivākyāmṛta* in chapter 13 (pp. 50-53) informs about the duties of an ambassador, still shorter *Hemac. Arhannīti* (p. 19 f., V. 97-101).

19 sandhipāla, the last term of the list, is evidently minister of peace; he is explained by the Comm.: sandhipālā rājyasandhirakṣakāḥ. (सन्धिपाल राज्यसन्धिरक्षकाः ।) This term is of special interest, because he, no doubt, is a title of a minister, and this title is not found elsewhere. From the *Rājatar.* and from inscriptions is the sāndhivigrāhaka or sāndhivigrāhika known, the minister of peace and war.

Considering this list no exact answer is possible on the question about the age of the terms. Though it would be of importance to

determine the age of one or another term, more stress has to be laid upon the whole impression, the accumulated personage which is a difference in comparison with the more simple conditions in the *Épic*, and *Jātakas*. Rather the conditions of the narrative literature can be drawn near, whereas the *Arthas*, remains back for some terms. But, further, single titles speak for progressed times. Talavara can hardly be dated at least before the 7th or 8th cent. A. D., when the turnṣka-origin of the word is correct. Titles like mahāmantrin show a developed state of honours; noteworthy is also the occurrence of a term like māḍambika, found only in an inscription of not too removed time. Piṭhamarda, though used in the list evidently in another sense than in the poetical literature, seems to stand in some connexion with the latter, which is again of relatively recent date. Titles as daṇḍanāyaka, mahāmantrin, are not found in works of early date; the crowd of the personalities alone does not allow to assume a high age of the list. And the existence of the list itself in canonical work is an argument that we have to see in it an interpolation of times which can be supposed to be the 7th or 8th cent. A. D., if not higher numbers seem preferable.

2 COURTS-OFFICIALS.

The assumption, that the list of officials, treated above, would represent the whole staff of the civil and military officials in Jain-texts, would be wrong. There exists a set of courts-officials of the king and attendants of the queen, which are of historical and ethnological interest,

1 THE KING'S OFFICIALS.

1 In *Aup.* (§ 40) Ajātaśatru with the surname Kūṇika commands the balavāyua to get ready the army for the procession to Mahāvīra.

Balavāyua corresponds to a Skt. balavyāpṛta. This is, no doubt, a title; the officer has the duty to bring the commands of the king, as far as they touch (?) the army, to the specials, chiefs.²⁰⁶

2 So the balavyāpṛta passes on to the hatthivāyua, hastivyāpṛta in Skt., the overseer oversee of the king's elephants; after executing the order the hastivyāpṛta announces it to the balavāpṛta (§ 41).

3 In the same manner the balavyāpṛta brings the order of the king to the jāṇasāliya, i. e. yānaśālīka, the official of the vehicles. He is not only the chief of the jāṇasāla = yānaśālā, but also of the vāhanasāla = vāhanaśālā. Yānas here mean the coaches of the queens, which are adorned; they are drawn by vāhanas, which again are decorated and are supplied in the vāhanaśālā with pratodayaṣṭis²⁰⁷ and pratodadhāraḥ.²⁰⁸ Vāhana here must be understood as bullocks, as the harnessing of elephants is described in § 41 and the Comm. also explains balivardādayaḥ.

After receiving the report of the nagara-guttiya, the nagaraguptika, the Campā is decor-

206 In modern paraphrase: the head of the military office of the king.

207 pratodayaṣṭi is the prickle-staff, *Divyāv.* 7, 5; 463, 10; in comparison; 76, 22; 465, 21.

208 Should that mean bins for the staffs? But in *Mhbh.* V, 155, 17 are mentioned aṅkuśadharau, dhanur-dharau, asidharau.

ated, the *balavyāpṛta* announces it to the king (*Aup.* § 42-46).

4 From *Aup.* (§ 17) we get knowledge of the existence of another courts-official.

The *pauttivāyaya*, in *Skt. pravṛtti-vyāpṛta*, reports to the king the advent of *Mahāvira*. The ceremony of greeting the king is as follows: he touches with the inner handplain his head and makes the *añjali* with round-folded hands also on the head, then he wishes hail and victory. Ending his report he says: "that even delightful thing I announce to your Majesty, well, delightful may it be ! (§ 18)." The king offers in consequence of this delightful event presents to the *pravṛttivyāpṛta*: eight hundred thousand *karṣāpaṇas*? as a *prītidāna* (§ 20). This official is attached to a special employment for the king; he receives the whole livelihood (§ 13) and, as it seems, presents at the occasion of delightful reports; so (§ 39) the king gives to him 1,205,000 (*karṣāpaṇas*?). But the *pravṛttivyāpṛta* holds again many people, the *pavittivāyayas*=*pravṛttivyāpṛtas*, which receive the maintenance (with cloths, lodging etc. perhaps), eating and wages (*bhati*=*bhṛti*; *bhatta*=*bhakta*; *vedaṇa*=*vetana*. § 13 f.) by him; it may be the same like between the *dāvārika*, the first door-keeper and member of the *tirthas*, and his subjects, the ordinary *dāvārikas*; both the chief and the subordinated people, bear the same name.

This official and his subjects have to report the *devasiyā*=*daivasikī*, sc. *pravṛtti*; according to

the Comm. it means:²⁰⁹ *sa cāsau vivakṣitāmutra nagarādāvāgato viharati ca Bhagavān ityādikā daivasikī* (स चासौ विवक्षितामुत्र नगरादावागतो विहरति च भगवान् इत्यादिका दैवसिकी ॥) i. e. therefore that which happens a day, where the Bhagavān will be preaching, or that he was coming from a city etc., that he stays there and events like them. From this explanation as well as from the expression: *Bhagavato pavittivānya* (भगवतो पवित्तिवाय्य—*Aup.* § 13) it could be concluded that he had only the duty to report the activity of the Bhagavān. But it is possible that he originally is an official of general reports, only here in the Jain-text represented as specially entrusted with the reports about Mahāvīra; the explanation of the Comm. says nothing: *pravṛttivyāpṛto vārttāvyāpāravān vārttām nivedakah*²¹⁰ (प्रवृत्तिव्यापृतो वार्ताव्यापारवान् वार्ता-निवेदकः ॥).

Finally is noteworthy the address of the king and of this official: there exists only one address: *Devānuppiyā*, the plural, in Skt. *Devānām priyah*. It has been assumed that the plural of *devānām priyah* has been the common title of His Majesty in the Maurya-epoch;²¹¹ it is found in the *Aup.*-text, used not only for the king, but also for the official and for one not of high rank; the title must have lost his once distinctive

209 Cited by E. LEUMANN s. v. in the Glossary.

210 The Comm. on the Ms. or. fol. 1001 Berlin (A. WEBER, *Verzeichnis* II, 3 No. 1826), p. 24 b, l. 17, 25 a, l. 1.

211 Cf. G. BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.* VIII (1878), p. 144; *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Aśoka-Inschriften*, Leipzig 1909, p. 55; E. SENART, *Ind. Ant.* XX (1891), p. 231, n. 9; V. A. SMITH, *JRAS* 1901, p. 577 f.

sense; he must have become obsolete. His occurrence here would speak for later times, at least for a pietism, may it be also only in literature.²¹²

For deciding the question of the age of these officials and terms, no handle (clue) is given; only the *Kaut. Arthas.* could be compared, and there we see not the slightest resemblance in the courts-officials. Though arguments on general reasons are not of great weight, the fact that such a staff of officials had existed in the time of Ajātaśatru seems to be unlikely.

OFFICIALS OF THE QUEEN AND HER ATTENDANTS.

In *Aup.* (55) the queens come out from their palace; they are surrounded by humpbacked and other girls from different countries; in the retinue appear eunuchs (*varisavara* = *varṣavara*), chamberlains (*kañcuijja* = *kañcukiya*) and mahattaras, probably courtiers. These officials must be understood in plural, because each of the queens had certainly her own personal (*niyagapariyālasaddhim*); one, here Dhāriṇī or Subhadrā with name, is the first consort of the king (cf. § 12 and 40, 43 etc.); their title is *devī*, but also Dhāriṇī is named only *devī* (§ 12); In *Kalpas.* (II. 14) Indra (Sakka) has an *aggamāhiṣī*, Skt. *agramāhiṣī*; *mahiṣī* is found also in Brahmanical sources (e. g. *Arthas.* 16, 18; 247, 5 f.). The attendants of a queen are

²¹² There exists still another meaning of the singular *dovānām priyaḥ*, which supports the view that already in the post-Mauryan times the word had a ridiculous sense, cf. about *Mahābh.* II, 4, 56; A. WEBER, *Ind. Stud.* XIII, p. 337 f., n. 1.

lar, but not identical²¹³ with those of the king
cribed in the *Arthas*.

THE SERVANT-GIRLS FROM DIFFERENT PEOPLES.

The servant-girls (cetikā) of a queen come
from different peoples, territories; the list given
below shows their names.

5. *aṅga Bhagavatī*.

- 1 Cilatiyā
- 2 Vaḍabhiyā
- 3 Babbariyā
- 4 Isiganiyā
- 5 Vāsaganiyā
- 6 Palhaviyā
- 7 Hlāsiyā
- 8 Laūsiyā
- 9 Ārabī
- 10 Damilā
- 11 Siṁthali
- 12 Pulimḍī
- 13 Pukkali
- 14 Bahali
- 15 Muramḍī
- 16 Saṁvari
- 17 Pārasī

6. *aṅga Jñātādharmak*.

- 1 Cilāiyā
- 2 Vaḍabhi
- 3 Babbarī
- 4 Vaūsī
- 5 Joniya
- 6 Palhavī
- 7 Isinī
- 8 Thārugiṇī
- 9 Lāsiyā
- 10 Lauaiyā
- 11 Damili
- 12 Siṁhali
- 13 Āravī
- 14 Pulimḍī
- 15 Pakkaṇī
- 16 Bahali
- 17 Murumḍī
- 18 Sabarī
- 19 Pārasī

1. *upāṅga Aup*.

- | | |
|-----------|------------|
| 1 Cilāi | 11 Damili |
| 2 Vaḍabhi | 12 Siṁhali |
| 3 Babb | 13 Ārabī |
| ūa | 14 Pulindi |
| 5 J. | 15 Pakkaṇī |
| | 16 Bahali |
| | Maruṇḍī |
| | Sabarī |
| | Pārasī |

6. *upāṅga Jambudvīpapr.**Kalpāntarav.*

- Cilāṭī
- Vaḍabhi
- Babbārī
- 4 Vausiyā
- 5 Jopiyā
- 6 Palhaviyā
- 7 Isipiyā
- 8 Tharuniyā
- 9 Lāsiyā
- 10 Lausiya
- 11 Damilī
- 12 Sihālī
- 13 Āravī
- 14 Pulimḍī
- 15 Pakvanī
- 16 Vahalī
- 17 Maruṇḍī
- 18 Savarī
- 19 Pārasi

- 1 Cilāṭī
- 2 Vaḍabhi
- 3 Babbārī
- 4 Paūsīā
- 5 Jopīā
- 6 P. lhaviā
- 7 Isipīā
- 8 Cārūpiā
- 9 Lāsīā
- 10 Lausiā
- 11 Demālī
- 12 Simhālī
- 13 Ābarī
- 14 Pulimḍī
- 15 Pakkapī
- 16 Maruṇḍī
- 17 Bahālī
- 18 Saharī
- 19 Pārasi

4. *upāṅga Prajñāpanā.*

- 1 Sagā
- 2 Javanā
- 3 Cilāya
- 4 Savarā
- 5 Papparā
- 6 Kāyā
- 7 Murumḍā
- 8 Bhadaḡā
- 9 Ninnagā
- 10 Pakkaniyā
- 11 Kulakkhā
- 12 Koṇḍā
- 13 Siharā
- 14 Pārāsā
- 15 Godhovā
- 16 Damilā
- 17 Villalā
- 18 Pulimḍā
- 19 Hārosā

- 20 Domvā
- 21 Boṭṭhakāpā
- 22 Gaṇḍhahāravā
- 23 Pahaliliyā
- 24 Ayyalā
- 25 Rāmā
- 26 Pāsā
- 27 Paūsā
- 28 Nalayā
- 29 Baṇḍhuyā
- 30 Sūyalī
- 31 Koṇkapā
- 32 Moyā
- 33 Palhavā
- 34 Mālāvā
- 35 Maggarī
- 36 Ābhāsīyā
- 37 Nakvaviṇā
- 38 Lhasiyā

39 Khagga	46 Kvokvatā
40 Ghāsiyā	47 Arakāgā
41 Nohā	48 Hūpā
42 Ramadhā	49 Romagā
43 Dombilagā	50 Bharu
44 Laūsā	51 Maruyā
45 Paosā	52 Visālāpavāsī

Nemiandra, *Pravacanas*.

1 Saga	20 Pulimda
2 Javana	21 Kumca
3 Sabara	22 Bhamararuyā
4 Vavvara	23 Kevāya
5 Kāya	24 Cīpa
6 Marumda	25 Camcuya
7. Udda	26 Mālava
8 Goda	27 Damilā
9 Pakkanayā	28 Kulagghā
10 Aravāga	29 Kekaya
11 Hopa	30 Kirāya
12 Romaya	31 Hayamuha
13 Pārasa	32 Kharamuha
14 Khasa	33 Gaya
15 Khāsiyā	34 Turaya
16 Dumvilaya	35 Miṃḍhayamuhā
17 Laūsa	36 Hayakannū
18 Bhokkasa	37 Gayukannū
19 Bhillimḍha, Bhilās and Āmḍhrū	

Candrasūri on *Nirayāvalī*.

1 Cilātī	10 Draviḍī
2 Vaḍabhā	11 Siṃhalī
3 Varvarī	12 Āravī
4 Vakuśikā	13 Pakvaṇī
5 Yenakā	14 Vahālī
6 Paṇhavikā	15 Murumḍī
7 Isinikā	16 Śavarī
8 Cārukinikā	17 Pārasi
9 Lāsikā	

(Contd.)

NOTES

- 1 A. WEBER, *Ind. Stud.* XVI, p. 302.
- 2 *Ibid.* p. 313.
- 3 E. LEUMANN, *AKM* VIII (1883), § 55.
- 4 A. WEBER *l. c.* p. 412.
- 5 A. WEBER *l. c.* p. 476.
- 6 *Ibid.* p. 396f.
- 7 *Ibid.* p. 396f., n. 3.
- 8 *Ibid.* p. 422, n. 1.

1 Cilāi, cilā(i)yā or cilātiyā. According to Hemacandra's *Pkt.-Grammar* (I, 183) Cilāya represents Skt. Kirāta;²¹⁴ E. Leumann s. v. cilāya cites in his *Glossary* (p. 118) a gloss in a Ms. of the *Rājaprasn.*,²¹⁵ where stands: cetika dāsi; the Comm. on *Aup.* explains: cetika anāryadesotpannā vā (चैटिका अनार्यदेशोत्पन्ना वा) so that these Comm. did not know the statement of Hemacandra. A scholion on *Jambudvipapr.* explains the Cilāti: Cilātyah Cilātaśotpannāh (चिलालक्षितदेशोत्पन्नाः). The Kirātas are known as the followers of the Indian king, probably in wartime, as noted already by Ktesias in the 5th cent. B. C.²¹⁶ As dhanurgrahāṇis we meet the girls of the Kirātas in the dramatic literature, and the *Medinikośa*, cited in a gloss on *Śākuntala* says:²¹⁷ Kirāti cāmaradhārī (किराती चामरधारी). The Kirātas are placed by *Varāham. Brhats.* (XIV, 18) in a southern, and (XIV, 30) in a northern direction;

214 Cf. R. PISCHEL, *Prākṛit-Grammatik* § 230, 257.

215 A. WEBER, *Ind. Stud.* XVI, p. 412, n. 2.

216 Cf. *SWA l. c.* p. 76f., 324f. Megasthenes does not mention them in this position, but in the *Arthas.* they appear as attendants of the king.

217 C. BOHTLINGK's edition (Bonn 1842) p. 177 on p. 20, 16.

they form a stereotyped part of mleccha-peoples in the *Brhats.* as well as in the *Epic* and *Purāṇas*.²¹⁸ The occurrence of this people cannot be therefore an argument in any way.

2 V a ḍ a b h ī, in *Bhagavatī* V a ḍ a h i y ā; they are explained by A b h a y a d e v a with: maḍaha-koṣṭhābhiḥ²¹⁹ (मडहकोष्ठाभिः); by the Comm. on *Aup.* with: vakrādhahkoṣṭhā, or by the *Jñātādḥ.* with: mahākoṣṭhā.²²⁰ If any identification is permitted, it seems probable to see in these women the Vallabhiyā; Valabhi plays a role in the Jain-community as the place of the council under Devarddhi Kṣamāsramaṇa.

3 The Barbariyā are known from the *Epic*, *Purāṇas* and the lexicographical literature as well as from the *Brhats.* (V, 42; XIV, 18).

4 I s i g a ṇ i y ā, I s i ṇ ī (cf. Weber l. C. p. 476), or Isiṇiyā; the first part of this name represents a Skt. ṛṣi°; from *Mhbh.* (V, 4, 18); *Rām.* (IV, 41, 16 ed. Gorr.) we get knowledge of a people Rṣika, where as the ed. Bomb. (IV, 41, 10) reads Anuṣṭika, but the Comm. remarks: Rṣṭikāniti pāṭhaḥ. This people occurs in the *Purāṇas*, and Alberuni mentions the same in the list, taken from the *Brhats.* (XIV, 15). They are placed in a southern direction, on the ocean, but it seems as if the name Rṣika would be an etymology of a similar, perhaps Riṣṭika; for the tāpasāsrama of a people is too suspicious. Therefore the question, put by

218 Cf. P. W. s. v. and F. E. PARGITER in his translation of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*, *Bibl. Ind.* 1005, p. 322 f.

219 A WEBER l. c. p. 302, n. 4.

220 E. Leumann in the *Glossary*, s. v.

Fleet,²²¹ whether the Rṣikas have any connexion with the Ristika or Rastika in Aśoka's fifth Rock-edict, is worthy of notice, though their evidently southern situation makes difficulty. Also the second part of the word causes doubt, when we take the form, given on first place, unless we explain it as Skt. °gaṇikā.

5 The possibility to take this second part as gaṇikā is increased by the return of the ending in the name Vāsagaṇiyā. Abhayadeva²²² has Vārugaṇiyāhim, and adds Joṇiyāhim. Neither in the *Jñātādh.*, nor in *Aup.*, nor in the other lists a name of half-way similar phonetical shape is found; only in the *Jñātādh.* Vausī would correspond, and it is remarkable that this name is followed by Joṇiya; in *Aup.* the place is occupied by the Pausiyā (with v. l. Bau°) followed by the Joṇiya again like that in the *Kalpāntaravācyāni* (Weber l. c. p. 476). Therewith these four forms would exist: Vāsa-, Vārugaṇiyā, Vausī and Pausī. None of these names are known from other works; also the explanation of the Comm. on *Jñātādh.*²²³ Vakusikā does not help further. In the *Purāṇas* a western people, the Vasikas or Nāsikyas, occur; whether there exists a connexion is, according to the conditions of the readings, impossible to say.

221 *Ind. Ant.* XXII (1893), p. 188; cf. *ibid.* XX (1891), p. 248 - Candrasūri (Weber l. c. p. 422, n. 1) has: Isinikābhiḥ - For Rṣika cf. W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder* p. 74 and 79, who gives lists of the peoples in the *Purāṇas*; Pargiter l. c. p. 332, 366.

222 A. Weber l. c. p. 302, n. 6.

223 E. Leumann in the *Glossary* s. v. Vausaya and A. Weber *Ind. Stud.* XVI, p. 332, 412.

6 The Jṇiyā, mentioned above, are the Yavanikās; inasmuch as these follow the foregoing unidentified people and are again followed by non-Indian peoples, the assumption is possible that the Pausī were non-Indians.

7 For the name Pahlava Weber has²²⁴ attempted to state a fixed date based on remarks by J. Olshausen²²⁵ and Th. Noldke,²²⁶ that the alteration of pahlava from parthava belongs to the first cent. A. D. and therefore the reception of the form Pahlava in Indian writings must be dated at the end of the first or better in the second cent. A. D. When also the historical objections, advanced by G. Bühler,²²⁷ today have lost their weight, the importance in general of such a statement in Indian literature is too little. But in an other direction the occurrence of the Pahlavas has its value: it shows the inconsistency with the historical conditions that Pahlavis had that they can be slaves in the time of Mahāvīra or Ajātaśatru, say in the 5th cent. B. C.

8 In *Bhagavatī* occurs Hlasiyā; in the fourth Upāṅga, *Prajñāpanā*, the form runs Lhasiya or Lhāsiya; in *Jñātādh.* appears Lasīyā like that in *Aup.*, *Jambudvīpapr.* and in the *Kalpāntarav.*²²⁸

224 In the second edition (German) of his *History of Indian Literature* p. 338.

225 *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1874), p. 708; Parthava und Pahlav, Māda and Māh, Berlin 1876.

226 *ZIMG XXXI* (1878), p. 558.

227 *SBE XXV*, p. CXV f.—Cf. E. J. Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, London 1908, p. XXXVII, n. 2.

228 A. Weber *Ind. Stud.* XVI, p. 302, 313, 397, 412 476 resp.

9 Cāruṇiṇiyā in *Aup.*, is quite uncertain; there exists a set of various readings: Thāruṇiṇiyā in *Jñātādh.*, *Jambudvīpapr.*; the latter has also Thārukiṇiā, in the transcription Thārukinikābhiḥ,²²⁹ further Cārubhaṇiyā, Cāruṇiṇiyā, Cārukiṇiā, Vāruṇiṇiyā, Vāruṇiṇiyā. In the *Prajñāpanā* we meet a town Varanā in the Atthā-country, or Acchā-country; Nemicandra in his *Pravacanasaṃśodhāra* reads Varuṇa and explains: Varuṇo nagaram Acchā deśaḥ anye tu Varuṇe Acchāpurī-tyāhuḥ²³⁰ (वरुणो नगरं, अच्छा देशः, अन्ये तु वरुणे अच्छापुरीत्याहुः ॥). Though both seem to be unknown otherwise, perhaps the town Rkṣapurī has existed in a Varuṇa-country, from which the girls came. A town Varuṇā occurs in Jinist cosmography and in the Mahāmāyūrī.²³¹

10 Conforming to the Lausiṇiyās in the other sources the *Prajñāpanā* reads Lausā; in Skt. the name would correspond to a *Lakuśā,²³² unknown, as it seems, otherwise.

11 the Ārabīs or Āravīs, occurring in many texts,²³³ are the Arabians; they are found in the *Brhats.* (XIV, 17). The conjecture by N. N. Law,²³⁴ that Vanāyu in the *Arthas.* (133, 16) is Arabia, is quite unintelligible; these places, from

229 A. Weber l. c. p. 412 and E. Leumann, *Aup.* § 55, n. 1.

230 A. Weber l. c. p. 398 and n. 3.

231 W. Kirfel l. c. p. 257, 305; S. Lévi *JAS.* XI, t. v (1915), p. 95 f.

232 Cf. A. Weber l. c. p. 397, n.

233 A. Weber l. c. p. 302, 313, 380, 412, 476.

234 *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*, London (1914), p. 40, n. 2.

which the horses came, are common to the *Mhbh.* (VIII 7-11 cf. VI,9,56) and *Rām.* (I,6,22; the Comm. says: *deśaviśeṣaḥ*) and to the lexicographical literature (*Halāy. Abhidh.* II,284; *Hemac. Abhidh.* 1235; *Amarak.* II,8,13; *Vaijay.* 111,189). For there exists little probability that the Indians would have named the people otherwise, when already in the inscriptions of Darius Hystaspes, Arabāya is found.²³⁵ Therefore the occurrence of the word in *Varāham. Brhats.* seems to be the first in Brahmanical literature, which can be dated with certainty.

12 *Damiḷi*, once²³⁶ found in the form *Demalio*, are the representatives of South India; the first notice of southern peoples is found in the XIII. Rock-edict of Aśoka. *Damiḷa* appears in Skt. as *Draviḍa* (cf. Pischel, *Pkt.-Grammatik* § 261, 387); the latter is in Brahmanical literature not of high age. The time of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, where (p. 133) the women of the *Draviḍas* are mentioned, is uncertain;²³⁷ in *Manu* they occur in a stereotyped enumeration (X, 44) like those in *Epic*. *Varāhamihira* shows an advanced knowledge of the country, speaking from the *Draviḍādhipāḥ* in (IV,23); the passage (LVIII,4) shows a connexion between a *Draviḍan* measure and sculpture. According to the P. w. s. v. *Draviḍa* means five peoples:

235 Behistun-inscription I, 1. 15; cf. also the other inscriptions, e. g. Persepolis (Weissbach-Bang, *Assyriologische Bibliothek* X, 1, 2, Leipzig 1893-1908), p. 34, 1. 11, -Cf. N. Dey, *Ind. Ant.* XLIX (1920), Suppl. p. 22, s. v. *Banāyu*.

236 A. Weber *l. c.* p. 476.

237 M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der Ind. Lit.* III Leipzig (1922), p. 540 supposes the fourth cent. A. D.

Āndhrāḥ Karnāṭakāścaiva Gurjarā Dravidāstathā,
Mahārāṣṭrā iti khyātāḥ pañcaite Dravidāḥ smṛtāḥ.

(आन्ध्राः कर्णाटकाश्चैव गुर्जरा द्रविदास्तथा ।

महाराष्ट्रा इति ख्याताः पञ्चैते द्रविदाः स्मृताः ॥)

or *ibid.* s. v. Drāviḍa) :

Karnātāścaiva Tailangā Gujjarā Rāṣṭravāsināḥ,
Āndhrāśca Dravidāḥ pañca Vindhyadakṣiṇavā-
sināḥ²³⁸

(कर्णाटाश्चैव तैलंगा गुर्जरा राष्ट्रवासिनः ।

आन्ध्राश्च द्रविदाः पञ्च विन्ध्यदक्षिणवासिनः ॥)

13 *Siṃhalī* in *Jñātādḥ.*, *Siṃthalī* in *Bhagavatī*, occurs also in Candrasūri's *Comm.*²³⁹ and in the *Kalpāntarav.*²⁴⁰ Though the P. W. cites *Siṃhala* works of a relatively late date, stress cannot be laid thereon; for the connexion of northern India with Ceylon must be dated back in the time of the flourishing Buddhism. But Greek testimonies make it probable that the name *Siṃhaladvīpa* belongs to the first cent. A. D., whereas the elder name seems to have been *Tāmbapamni* (*Tāmrāparṇī*), as is shown also by the *Aśoka*-inscriptions.²⁴¹

14 The *Pulindīs*, occurring often in the texts (cf. Weber *l. c.* XVII, *Index* s. v.) are not only known from *Aśoka's* XIII. Rock-edict, but also from the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*.²⁴²

238 In the *Kalpāntarav.* occurs under other kinds the *Dravidāli* (A. Weber *l. c.* p. 440); but no historic value can be attributed to this passage.

239 A. Weber *l. c.* p. 422, n. 1.

240 *Ibid.* p. 476.

241 Cf. H. Jacobi, *Das Rāmāyaṇa* p. 91 f.; *The Cambridge History of India* I, p. 605 f.; *Ind. Ant.* XII. 1884, p. 33 f.

242 Macdonell-Koith, *Vedic Index* II, p. 8 s. v.

15 The Pakkaṇis of *Aup.* appear in the other texts in different forms: Pukkalī (Pakka°) in *Bhagavatt*, Pakvaṇī in *Jambudvīpapr.* and in Candrasūri's *Comm.*,²⁴³ while the form like that in *Aup.* occurs also in *Jñātādh.* and *Kalpāntarav.*²⁴⁴ It would be an easy thing to identify the Pakkaṇī etc. with a people, whose name is given again in different forms: Pukkasa, Pulkasa, Pukkasa, Bukkasa, Pakkaśa; but there remains the difficulty in appearing of the cerebral dental sibilant. The word pakkaṇa, resp. pakvaṇa, is known only in the meaning "hut" of a savage people; in consequence of these two reasons the identification is doubtful; the Pulkasa are found in *Vedic texts*²⁴⁵

16 The Bahalī are to be identified with the Bāhlikas, Bālhikas etc. the *Epic*.²⁴⁶ Though on the one hand the statements expressed by Weber,²⁴⁷ that works containing this name cannot be dated back before the Christian era, may be correct in general, it is on the other hand doubtful whether the Baktrians are meant by the name or rather peoples of the west.

243 A. Weber *l. c.* p. 302 and n. 7; 412, 422.

244 *Ibid.* p. 313, 476; cf. p. 332, 397.

245 Macdonell-Keith *l. c.* II, p. 27 s.v. Paulkasa; cf. Halāyudha (ed. Th. Aufrecht) *Notes* p. 112 on II, 443.

246 Cf. P. W. s. v. Bāhlika and Bālhika; S. Sørensen, *An Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, Part III, London 1907, p. 110 s. v.

247 SPA 1892, p. 985-995; A. Ludwig, *Sitzungsberichte der königl. böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 1896, p. 46 ff.; Macdonell-Keith *l. c.* II, p. 63 s. v. Bāhlika; Pargiter *l. c.* p. 311, n.*

17 For Muruṇḍī the alternative form Murāṇḍī is found; this people is well known from Samudragupta's *Allahabad-prasasti*, where (CII III, p. 8, l. 23) they appear between Śakas and Saimhalas.²⁴⁸ The people, if the identification with the Ou-lun of the *Chinese Encyclopaedia Ma-teuan-lin* is correct, are proved for the seventh cent. A. D., although they are not found in *Varāham. Brhats*.

18 Of no significance are the Śabarīs which people appears in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (VII, 18) as the Dasyus together with the Āndhra, Puṇḍra, Pulinda and Mūṭiba.²⁴⁹ They belong to the south-eastern division (*Varāham. Brhats. XIV, 10*), and pass generally for a tribe of savage as also *Varāham.* (LXXXVII, 10) indicates, where he speaks from the Śabaravyādhacaurasaṅga.

19 The last women are the Pārasīs, the the Persian; the quotations in P. W. s. v.

248 S. Lévi, *Mélanges Charles de Harlez*, Leyde 1896, p. 179-185 remarked that muruṇḍa may be the title of the king, a view which has been adopted by Sten Konow, *SPA* 1916, p. 790 f., *Das indische Drama* p. 49. Hemac. *Abhidh.* 960 and *Vaijay.* 37, 50 show the Muruṇḍas or Murāṇḍas on the west frontier (for Lampāka see S. Lévi *J. l. c.* p. 89 f.); the Marundai of Ptolemaios (VII, 2, 14; Oppian, *Kyneget.* IV, 165) are situated on the Ganges, where already Megasthenes (fg. inc. LVI, 9; Plinius *NH* VI, 6f.) knows the Molindae. Lévi stated himself (*Mélanges* p. 180) that 'śaka in the title daiva-putra' is an ethnic; and why not 'muruṇḍa? The Chinese records may give a vṛddhi-form of Muruṇḍa as the title of the kings of the Muruṇḍas. (Cf. J. Allan, *Catalogue* p. XXIV ff).

249 Macdonell-Kelch *J. l. c.* II, p. 354.

Pārasika and Pārasika would not allow the acceptance of high age of this name in Indian literature. Though it would be a priori probable to assume an early connection between the Indians and Persians (naturally in post-Aryan periods) dating from the time of Darius at least, the views of the scholars concernig Parsu are not unanimous;²⁵⁰ in spite of Alberuni's equation of the Pāraśavas = Persians, the fact that Brahmanical theory declares the Pāraśava as the son of a Brahman and Śūdra (e. g. *Manu* IX, 178) speaks against this identification. Further, if Pāraśava would mean the persians, Pārasika seems to be unintelligible.

The question of the date of the whole list is rendered more difficult by the impossibility to locate and to identify a good deal of them. Also the arrangement gives no handle (clue) to infer their site; for the Kirātas, Pahlavas, Arabians belong to the west, but they are interrupted by unknown peoples. Then follow those of the South, as Draviḍas, Siṃhalas, Pulindas, while those, coming next, have to be placed again in a western direction: Baktrians, Persians, to enumerate only the more certain peoples.

Comparing the non-Indian literature, Plinius in his *Naturalis Historica* (VI, 64 ff) does not mention the name of a people, which is found in the list, except the Kirātas. Ptolemaies, the geographer of the second cent. A. D., knows from the peoples, occuring in the list, the Śabarās (Sabarai VII, 1, 80), near the Ganges. In that

250 Cf. Moedonell-Keith *l. c.* I, p. 504 f.

(VII, 1, 64) he mentions the Pulindai Agriop-hagoi which are to be located in a western direction. South of the Ganges-valley are to be placed the Marundai of VII, 2, 14. No more can be gathered from Ptolemaies' *Geography*, and also the Chinese pilgrims do not help further, because they were not thoroughly acquainted with the peoples of India. First in Alberuni's *Indica* a full list of peoples is found, but that is not the description by a foreign geographer, rather, the compilation by a learned Arabian from Hindu works.

Alberuni²⁵¹ takes his geographical division of India as well from the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* as from Varāhamihira's *Brhatsaṃhitā*. Common with our list the former source has the Śābaras, Kirātas, Vāhlikas, Pahlavas; while the latter has the following peoples: Śābaras, Rṣikas, Siṃhalas, Barbaras, Kirātas, Pāraśavas, Draviḍas, Yavanas; the Vokkāṇa, located by Varāhamihira in the West (XIV, 20; XVI, 35) have hardly to do anything with the Pakkāṇa. In the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* (II, 3; Wilson's transl. Works vol. VII, p. 129) we meet the Kirātas, Yavanas; in *Mhbh.* (II, 52), and (VI, 9, 38 ff), where Sañjaya enumerates the peoples of Bhāratavarṣa, only some of the list are mentioned. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* occur these tribes: Vāhlikas (LVII, 35), Pahlavas (36-LVIII, 30), Kirātas (LVII, 40), Śābaras, Pulindas (47), and Rṣikas (LVIII, 27; cf. Pargiter's transl. p. 332, n. †), Siṃhalas (27), Pāraśavas (32), Draviḍas (33), and Yavana (52; cf. Pargiter l. c. LVII, 8, and 36 with n. §).

251 Alberuni's *India* (transl. by E. C. Sachau), London 1910, I, p. 299 ff.

In spite of the much more complete enumeration in the Purāṇas the different character of the list in the Jīnist works is undeniable. It is not only the circumstance that all the girls are from non-Āryan tribes, because, as shown just above, also in the Purāṇas the Mlecchas are included in the inhabitants of Bhāratavarṣa rather the difference is in the form of the names, unknown from the Brahmanical literature.

Only one hint we get from Nemicaṇḍra's *Pravacanasāroddhāraprakaraṇa*;²⁵² his list of the peoples is evidently enlarged and of a more recent date than that of the other texts. The time of Nemicaṇḍra is determined by the *Comm.* of Siddhasenasūri²⁵³ who belongs to Samvat 1242 = 1185 A. D. There is no doubt that the lists in all the texts represent interpolations which are shown by their more or less conforming character. The peoples must be understood not even as peoples in the strict sense, rather as tribes of India at the locality and time of the interpolater. The lists in the *Brhats.* and the Purāṇas on the one hand, and those of the texts of the *Siddhānta* on the other, make it probable, that the latter belong to a time nearer the approximate date of Nemicaṇḍra, say the 10. or 11. cent. A. D.; to a time, not too far from this date, the origin of the list may belong. The

252 Cf. p. Peterson, *Report (JBBRAS XVI Extr. Number) on the Search for Sanskrit MSS.* in the Bombay Circle, 1882-83, p. 66 ff., Appendix I, p. 88 f.; A. Weber, *Verzeichnis II*, 3 p. 844, No. 1936.

253 A. Weber *Ind. Stud.* XVI, p. 211, n. 3.

supposition that the slave-girls could be from peoples under the dominion of Ajātaśatru, is an anachronism, is out of question.

Summarizing the results of the inquiry we have seen an affinity between the gamas and the Brahmanical literature. But the character of the gamas, technical expressions in holy texts, and their probable source, for a certain part, the Dictionaries, show that they represent interpolations. And if the kośas of the end of the first millenary offer the most striking parallels, or the Purāṇas of a certainly relatively recent date stand next, the conclusion that the lists also must be of a recent date is possible. Though the cities are occurring in texts of early times, the list can be borrowed from them, because these places formed the local back-ground of the founders of the two most important religious non-Brahmanical movements, and because they were fixed by tradition. Not so with the titles of officials: here we had occasion to refer to analogies in inscriptions and in works of later times. The status of the court-officials, differing in a high degree from that known from other sources, can hardly serve as an argument of an early date; and, finally, the women, used in the suite of the queens, permit us to assume a date of the end of the first millenary rather than that of earlier times. Arguments of general reasons possess little vigour of evidence; but the developed conditions of settlements, officials and of the ceremonial may serve as a supporting proof.

INDEX

N. B.—Figures indicate page numbers; fn means foot-note.

A

Abhayadeva 102.
Abhidhānacintāmaṇi (Halay) 32; 42; 48; 68; 8 fn.
Abhidhānacintāmaṇi (Hemac) 7; 12; 14; 24; 28; 32; 35; 39; 40; 48; 68; 77; 86; 104; 8 fn; 13 fn; 16 fn; 166 fn; 248 fn.
 Abhiras 26 fn.
Ācārāṅga 1; 2; 25; 31; 36; 38; 47; 54; 79 fn; 82 fn.
 Acchā-Country 104.
 accountant 83; 84.
 Acropolis of Campā 50.
 address, of the king 95.
 adhiṣṭhāna 27.
 Ādisimha 80.
 administration, political, 73.
 Afridis 20.
 agāra 6.
 aggala 31.
 aggalapāsaga 31.
 aggamāhiṣi 96.
 Agni-Purāṇa 27.
 agramāhiṣi 96.
 Airwa 115 fn.
Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa 106; 108.
 Ajantā-Inscription 83 fn.
 Ajātaśatru 93; 96; 103; 112.

Ajaya 42.
 ākara 6; 13; 13.
 ākāra 43a.
 ākarakarmānta 12.
 Ākarāvanti 19 fn.
 ākhetasīrṣaka 32.
 Ākhotā 32.
 Ālabhikā 49; 54; 58; 63.
 Ālabhiyā 59; 62.
 Ālavaka (Yakṣa) 59; 62; 120 fn.
 Ālavi 59; 60; 61; 62.
 Āḷavinagara 61.
 Ālberuni 101; 109; 110; 251 fn.
 Āle 59; 60.
 Aliganj Sewan 64.
Allahabad-praśasti 108.
 Allan 150 fn; 151 fn; 166 fn; 182 fn; 248 fn.
 Alow 59.
Altindisches Leben 172 fn.
 amacca 71; 79; 84; 85.
Amarakośa 9; 29; 39; 42; 104; 31 fn; 75 fn; 166 fn.
 Amarāvati-Inscription 199 fn.
 amātya 79; 83; 84.
 amātya-prakṛti 71.
 Amāvatāra 67.
 Ambagāma 64.
 ambassador 91.
 amphitheatre 23.

- amṛta 42.
 aṃsa 31 fn.
 Aṃsapatha 22; 31 fn.
 aṃśikā 20; 22.
 aṃśikā-adopting 20.
 Aṃsikās 31 fn.
 aṃsiyā 20; 22.
 Ānanda 65.
 Āndhra 108.
 Āndhrāḥ 106.
 Anekārthasaṃgraha 6; 28;
 39; 42; 48; 86; 62 fn;
 75 fn.
 Aṅga 50; 57.
 Aṅga-kingdom 61.
 Aṅga-Magadha 107 fn.
 aṅgāra 47.
 aṅgarakarmānta 39; 44.
 Aṅgaratṭha 61.
 aṅgas, of the army 90.
 Aṅguttara-Nikāya 46; 81 fn;
 84 fn.
 Aṅguttarāpa 61; 65.
 An Index to the names in the
 Mahābhārata 246 fn.
 aṅkuśadhara 208 fn.
 antaḥpura 35.
 anūpaśālā 48.
 Anupiya 15.
 Anurādhapura 58 fn.
 Anuṣṭika 101.
 Anuyogadvārasūtra 8.
 Āpaṇa 61; 65.
 Āpastamba 14.
 Arabāya 105.
 Arabians 109.
 Ārabis 104.
 aranya 48.
 Āravis 104.
 arena (Samājavata) 23.
- argaḍa 35.
 argala 32; 36.
 Arhannīti 76; 91.
 army 93.
 Arthaśāstra 5; 7; 8; 9; 11; 12;
 18; 20; 21; 22; 31; 34; 36;
 39; 40; 41; 44; 70; 74; 84;
 86; 90; 92; 96; 97; 104; 15
 fn; 16 fn; 24 fn; 31 fn; 35
 fn; 36 fn; 148 fn; 178 fd;
 204 fn; 216 fn.
 arts 86.
 āryanivāsas 25.
 āsama 6; 13.
 asidhara 208 fn.
 Aśoka 22; 29; 40.
 āsrama 13.
 Assaji 116 fn.
 assembly 22.
 assembly-hall 40.
 assembly, member of, 22
 Asthikagrāma 49.
 astrologer 83; 84.
 Aśvagoṣa 120 fn.
 Ātavaka 62.
 Āṭavi 62; 80; 122 fn.
 āṭavikas 20.
 Atharyaveda 6.
 atṭa 32.
 atṭalaka 31; 36.
 attendants 71.
 attendants, of the queen 92; 96.
 Atthā-country 104.
 Atṭhanāgara 84 fn.
 Atṭhiyaggāma 84 fn.
 Atumā 65.
 audience-hall 85.
 Aupapātikasūtra 1; 3; 6; 13; 18;
 25; 31; 35; 38; 41; 47;
 50; 68; 70; 79; 84; 85; 87;

89; 90; 91; 93; 94; 95; 96;
97; 100; 101; 102; 103;
107; 82 fn; 192 fn; 197 fn.
Avadānaśataka 35; 9 fn; 20 fn;
38 fn.
avalagaka 80; 82.
avalagana 80; 81; 82.
āveśana 38; 48.
āyatana 38; 39.

B

Babylonien und Assyrien 172
fn.

baggage 31 fn.

bags 31 fn.

Bahali 107.

Bāhlika 107.

Bahuputra 54.

Boijanātha-Praśasti 40.

Baktrians 107; 109.

Bālacarita 19.

balādhikarāṇa 151 fn.

balavāuya 93.

balavyāpṛta 93; 94.

Bālhika 107.

bali 81; 173 fn.

Bāngarmāu 59.

Beniyā (Bunecan) 52.

bank 85.

Barbaras 110.

Barbariyā 101.

Barddhamāna 84 fn.

Bargaon 56.

Basār (basād) 51; 52.

Basārḥ 15.

Basti 66.

Behistu-inscriptions 235 fn.

*Beiträge zur indischen Lexi-
cographie* 64 fn; 149 fn;

165 fn; 189 fn; 190 fn; 211 fn.

bluva 54.

Benares 56; 58; 60; 102 fn.

benzoe plant 75 fn.

Besnagar-inscription 91.

Bazzenberger 165 fn.

bhada 70; 90.

bhadanigama 199 fn.

Bhaddiyā 56; 57; 58; 60; 61;

118 fn.

Bhaddiyanagara 56; 57; 58.

Bhādikiya 110 fn.

Bhadrāmkananagara 57.

Bhadrapura 57.

Bhadrikā 49; 56; 57; 60; 63;

110 fn; 118 fn.

Bhagavatī 55; 62; 97; 103;

107.

Bhandarkar 16; 80; 169

fn.

bharuvādī 13.

Bhānudīkṣita 31 fn.

Bharoch (Broach) 17 fn.

Bhagalpur 50.

Bhagavān 95.

Bhāgavata-Purāṇa 26; 43a.

bhakta 94.

Bhamgi-country 67.

Bhaṇḍa-gāma 64.

bhāṇḍagārika 182 fn.

Bhāratavarṣa 110; 111.

Bhāsa 19; 70.

bhaṭa 70; 142 fn.

bhati 94.

bhatta 94.

bhittisṛṅga 32.

Bhoganagara 64; 62.

Bhramarāśālmali 81.

bhrta 70.

bhrti 94.

Bihār 60.

Bimbisāra 62; 90.

- bins 203 fn.
 birth-place, Mahāvīra's, 53.
 blade of green 78.
 bow-strings 43.
 Bhṛgukaccha (also known as
 Bharukaccha, Bhṛgupura,
 Bhṛgukṣetra) 11.
Biography of Appolonia of
Tyana 20.
 Bloch, T 105 fn.
 body, of the Śreṣṭhis 16.
 Bohtlingk 217 fn.
 Bollensen 10.
 Bottiah 118 fn.
 brahmadeva 12.
 brāhmaṇa 70.
Bṛhasp 5.
Bṛhatkathāmañjarī 150 fn.
Bṛhatsaṃhitā 35; 37; 38; 45;
 49; 71; 74; 75; 100; 101;
 104; 105; 108; 110; 111;
 brick-building 41.
Buddhacarita 120 fn.
 Buddha 57; 58; 59; 61; 64; 65;
 116 fn.
 Buddhaghosa 55 fn.
 buddhisaciva 177 fn.
Buddhist India 11; 102 fn;
 134 fn.
 Buddhist-Legends 78 fn.
 Bühler 9; 14; 27; 79; 81;
 103; 20 fn; 211 fn.
 Bukka 107.
 bullocks 93.
 Burdwān 50.
 burial-ground 44.
 Burlingame 78 fn.
 burning-ground 45.
 C
 caityavṛkṣa 48.
 camp 77. camp 49; 50; 68; 93; 107 fn.
 Camp, on a high ground 36 fn.
 Campakatreṇṇīkathānaka 76.
 Caṇḍapāṭika 150 fn.
 Candrasūri 99; 106; 107.
 Cāpālacetīya 54.
 Caravans, robbery of 19.
 Caravan-place 24.
 Caravans, the leaders of 90.
 Cārṇiṇīyā 103.
 Caryā 31.
 Catalogue of the Coins of
 Gupta Dynasties 150 fn; 182
 fn; 248 fn.
 Catuspatha 48.
 Canlukyarājadhāni 17.
 Cave 80; 47.
 Cave, the founder of 91.
 Cesling 38.
 Ceda 85.
 Ceremonial 112.
 Ceṭa 86; 185 fn;
 Ceṭaka 53; 54; 72.
 Ceṭikā 97.
 Cetiya 54.
 Chadakica 199 fn.
 Chaitya caves 83 fn.
 Chamberlains 96.
 Champaka 31.
 Charpentier 20; 136 fn;
 137 fn; 139 fn; 142 fn
 Chaparā 51.
 Charcoal-burning 44.
 Cherand 51.
 Chief of police 150 fn.
 Chiefs 93.
 Childers 22; 33 fn.
 Chinese Encyclopaedia 103.
 Chinese pilgrims 51.
 Calai 100.

Cilā(i)yā 100.
 Cilātiyā 100.
 Cilāya 100.
 Citadel 24.
 City-life 38.
 Civilian, prominent 198 fn.
 Clay-seals 182 fn.
 Cognomen 90.
 Colebrooke 140 fn.
 Collins Mark 85 fn.
 Commander-in-chief 70.
 Confessor, of the Dharma, 199
 fn.
 Consort 96.
 Contests 22.
 Cornices 33.
Corporate Life 16; 68 fn; 144
 fn.
 Corporation 71.
 Corpses 45.
 Councillor. 83; 84.
 Courtiers 96.
 Court-officials 92; 96; 112.
Cullavagga 34; 46; 59; 131 fn.
 Cunda 65.
 Cunningham, A 51; 58; 63.

D

dabbhakammamta 39.
 dabbhammanta 43.
 Damlā 105.
 daṇāyaka 74.
 daṇāyakaru 74.
 daṇḍādhipatya 150 fn.
 daṇḍamukhya 74.
 daṇḍaṇāyaga 71.
 daṇḍanāyaga 73; 150 fn.
 daṇḍanāyaka 73; 74; 90; 92.
 daṇḍapāsādhikarāṇa 150 fn.
 daṇḍapāsika 150 fn.

daṇḍavāsika 150 fn.
 dāra 31.
 darbha 43.
 Darel-district 38 fn.
 darīo 31.
 Darius Hystaspes 104; 105;
 109.
Daśakumāracarita 14.
Das indische Drama 187 fn;
 248 fn.
Das Rāmāyaṇa 63 fn; 241 fn.
 Dasyu 108.
 dauvārika 84; 94.
 Deb 148 fn.
 Demalio 105.
 deśādhikata 79.
 deśanivedaka 91.
Deśināmamālā 142 fn.
 devagrhaḥ 22.
 devakula 38; 39.
 Devānūppiyā 95.
 Devarddhi 101.
 Devarāya 74.
 devārika 84.
 devasiyā 94.
 devī 96.
 Dey 84 fn; 85 fn; 86 fn; 115
 fn.
Dhammanad 36
Dhammapada-comm 15; 44; 57;
 58; 60; 61; 15 fn; 34 fn;
 117 fn.
 Dhanama 80.
 Dhanasūjaya 117 fn.
 Dhanapāla 27; 78; 166 fn.
 dhanurdhara 208 fn.
 Dhārīṇī 96.
 Dharmapāla (?) 31 fn.
Dharmarakṣā 120 fn.
Dharmasūtra 4; 82.

dharmasāstrapāṭhaka 70.
Dharmasūtra 14.
Dhātupāṭha 6; 7; 15; 16 fn; 30
 fn.
 Dictionaries 27; 112; 49 fn.
Dictionary (The New Paṭi
 Text society) 31 fn; 57fn.
Die Kosmographie Inder 84 fn;
 221 fn.
Die Religion des Buddha 140
 fn.
Die Sociale Gliederung 59 fn;
 183 fn; 194 fn; 205 fn.
Dīgha-Nikāya 46; 54; 64; 65;
 66; 31 fn; 41 fn; 82 fn.
Dīgha-Nikāya (translation)
 31 fn; 49 fn.
 Dighwā-dubauli 63.
 distilleries 42.
Divyāvadāna 7; 12; 33; 35;
 46; 48; 57; 38 fn; 41 fn;
 207 fn.
 door (kapāṭa) 38.
 door-posts 34.
 dovāriya 84
 Dramiḍas 110.
 draṅgā 28.
 Draviḍa 105; 106; 109.
 dropamukha 10; 11; 12; 27;
 28; 29.
 drumasīrṣa 32.
 drumasīrṣaka 33.
 Dudhpani 80.
 Dulva 55.
 durga 24 fn; 43 a.
 durgāvidhāna 31.
 dūta 91.
 Dutta 76 fn.
 dūya 91.
 dvāra 5.

dwelling-places for Āryas 25;
 26;

E

Early History 85 fn; 133 fn.
 elephants 80; 83.
 elephants, overseer of, 93.
 empty horse 46.
 encampment 19.
 encampment, the place of, 77.
*Encyclopaedia of Religion and
 Ethics* 101 fn; 130 fn.
Epic 26; 31; 82; 92; 101; 107
 155 fn.
Epigraphia Indica 5; 8; 40;
 74; 75; 79; 14 fn; 20 fn;
 Establishments 38.
 eunuchs 96.
 exorcisers 44.
 explorations, in Eastern Tar-
 kastana, 46.
 exporting merchants 91.

F

Fa-Hian 58; 59.
 families 80.
 festivals 23.
 Fick 87; 59 fn; 183 fn; 197 fn;
 205 fn.
 fisher 90.
 Fleet, J. W. 15 fn; 175 fn.
 floor 32.
 formularium 49 fn.
 fort 24.
 Fortifications 31.
 fortress 31; 33.
 Foy 173 fn; 176 fn.
 Franke 65; 31 fn; 49 fn;
 82 fn; 129 fn.
 funeral pyre 45;

G

- gadḍao 31.
 gahapati 91.
 Galanos 33.
 gāma, 1; 3-5.
 gāmabhojaka 45.
 gāmāgara 6.
 gāmaghāṭa 41 fn.
 gāmahanam 27.
 gāmarakkhā 36.
 gamas 24.
 Gambhi-territory 67;
 games, celebration of, 22.
 gaṇa 71.
 gaṇaka 182 fn.
 gaṇanāyaga 71.
 gaṇanāyaga 71.
 gaṇanāyaka 202 fn.
 Gaṇḍaka 64.
 gaṇeṣṭi 42.
 Ganges 51; 60.
 gaṇikā 86.
 gaṇikāguru 86; 145 fn; 146 fn;
 148 fn.
 gaṇaka 83.
 gaṇaya 83.
 gaṇikā 40.
 gaṇikā 40.
 garlands 45.
 Gautamanyagrodha 99 fn.
 gavyūta 13 fn.
 Geist des Ostens 201 fn.
 general 89.
 general-in-chief 90.
 Geographical Data of the
 Raghuvamśa 85 fn.
 Geography 11; 49.
 Ghagharā (Gogrā) 51.
 ghaṭi 15 fn.
 ghaṭikā 10; 15 fn.
 ghaṭikāsthāna 15 fn.
 ghaṭiyantra 15 fn.
 ghoṣa 29.
 ghoṣa 19; 20; 26 fn.
 ghosa 25; 26.
 giragga 23.
 girdle 42.
 girikandarā 39; 46.
 girls, humpbacked 96.
 Glossary 70; 100.
 Gogra 64.
 goharāṇa parvan 19.
 goho 142 fn.
 gokali 13.
 gopādhyakṣa 19.
 Gopinātha Rāo 48 fn.
 gopura 5; 31; 35; 36.
 Gorakhpur 66.
 Gorr 14; 37; 101.
 Gosāla-episode 67.
 Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta 67.
 gosī 13.
 Gotamaka 54.
 Gottinger Gelehrte Nachrichten
 23 fn; 52 fn.
 Governor 76; 79.
 gowālī 13.
 grāma 25; 26; 27; 28; 29; 40;
 26 fn.
 grāmadhānam 27.
 grāmarakṣā 36.
 Grammar (Pāṇini) 25.
 grass-sorts 47.
 griha 80.
 Grihapati 80.
 ground 77.
 ground, tract of 77.
 guard 79.
 guardian 77.
 Guilandina Bonducella 42.

guild 16; 87.
 guild-head 89.
 guild, headman of, 88.
 guild, of a large town 89.
 guild, the head of 90.
 Gujjarāḥ 106.
 Gurjarāḥ 106.
 Gnrupūjā 185 fn.
 Gurupūjākāumudī 180 fn.

H

Hāla 76.
 Halāyudha 28; 39; 104;
 166 fn.
 hall 8; 45.
 hamlet 16; 20.
 Handelsmann 14.
 Haradatta 14.
 Hārāvalī 12.
 harbour 10.
 Hardy, E 23; 57; 59; 67;
 107 fn; 117 fn.
 Hariścandra 45.
 Harivaṃśa (Jaina) 84 fn.
 Hastipāla 68.
 hastivyāpṛta 93.
 hastyārohas 86.
 Hatthigāma 64.
 hatthivāyua 93.
 head-bands 76; 89.
 head-man, of the city 88.
 head of a village, 73.
 head of the merchants 199 fn.
 headquarters of an army 24.
 Hemacandra 74; 76; 77;
 81; 86; 91; 100; 104; 248
 fn.
 herdsmen 79.
 herdsmen-station 19.

Hertel 27; 35; 12 fn; 150
 fn; 163 fn; 171 fn; 201.
 fn.
 High-Campā 50.
 high-grass 43.
 hill-caves 46.
 Hillebrandt 149 fn.
History of Indian Literature
 224 fn.
Hitopadeśa 150 fn.
 Hlasiyā 103.
 Hoornlo 13; 42; 52; 53;
 58; 62.
 Hoey, W. 51; 63.
 homesteads 80.
 Hopkins 26; 31; 87; 66 fn;
 73 fn; 146 fn; 174 fn; 198
 fn; 200 fn.
 Houses 37.
 Hoysala chiefs 74.
 Huen-Tsiang 59.
 Hultsch 20 fn; 23 fn; 199
 fn.
 hurdle 19.
 husbandman 79.

I

ibbha 197.
Indian Antiquary 77; 17 fn;
 20 fn; 26 fn; 34 fn; 38
 fn; 48 fn; 84 fn; 125 fn;
 126 fn; 136 fn; 153 fn;
 157 fn; 168 fn; 169 fn;
 182 fn; 211 fn; 241 fn.
Indian Studien 100; 92 fn;
 158 fn; 164 fn; 169 fn;
 199 fn; 212 fn; 216 fn;
 228 fn; 268 fn
India, Old and New 195 fn.
Indicā 110; 49 fn; 251 fn.

Indo germanische Forschun-
gen 142 fn.
 Indra 96.
 indrakīla 31; 32; 34; 35; 36;
 58 fn.
 inspection 22.
 isara 75; 76.
 Isiganiyā 101.
 Isinī 101.
 Isinīyā 101.
 isvara 75; 76.
 I-tsing 55.

J

Jacobi 24; 37; 42; 43; 49;
 50; 52; 62; 36 fn; 63 fn;
 241 fn.
 jala 36 fn.
 jalayarā 36 fn.
Jambudvīpaprajñapti 76; 98;
 100; 103; 107.
 Jambugāma 64.
 jānagiha 41.
 jānasālā 41.
 jānasāliya 93.
JAOS 42 fn; 50 fn; 66 fn;
 73 fn; 174 fn.
JASB 51; 129 fn.
 jasmine 38.
 Jasmāsa 53.
Jātakas 84; 90; 92; 41 fn;
 59 fn.
 Jātiyāvana 58.
 Jayacandra 182 fn.
 Jetavana 41 fn.
 Jinist works 111.
 jirṇodyāna 48.
 Jiyasattū 53; 54.
Jñātādharmasūtrapāṭha 74;
 76; 97; 101; 102; 103;

106; 107; 180 fn.
 jodha 90.
 Jogī Koṭ 59.
 johā 70.
 Jolly 17; 180 fn; 185 fn.
 Joṇiya 102.
JRAS 51; 32 fn; 87 fn; 88 fn;
 111 fn; 112 fn; 115 fn;
 117 fn; 127 fn; 128 fn;
 130 fn; 151 fn; 175 fn;
 196 fn; 211 fn.
 judge 73; 151 fn.

K

kalā 86.
 Kalhaṇa 74.
Kalpāntaravācyāni 98; 102;
 103; 106; 107.
Kalpasūtra 1; 2; 5; 6; 7; 8;
 17; 18; 20; 21; 25; 38;
 47; 49; 52; 54; 62; 68;
 71; 72; 73; 75; 76; 78;
 79; 83; 85; 86; 96; 64 fn;
 136 fn; 178 fn; 193 fn
Kalpasūtra-Comm. 10; 11; 12;
 13; 14.
 Kāmandaki 74; 75; 91; 177
 fn.
Kāmasūtra 86; 105.
 Kammāraputta 65.
 Kanauj 60; 182 fn.
Kaṇavera-Jātaka 25; 48 fn.
 Kāñcīpura 48 fn.
 Kañcuijja 96.
 Kapilavatthu 68.
 kapiśirṣaka 32; 33; 34.
 kapiśaka 34.
 karabāla 77; 166 fn.
 karabālikā 77; 166 fn;
 karahakata 15; 20 fn.
 karapāla 77; 166 fn.

- karapālikā 166 fn.
 karavāla 78; 166 fn.
 karavālikā 166 fn.
 karaveṭa 29.
 karṇaṭa 7.
 Karle-Inscription 83 fn.
 Karmasaciva 177 fn.
 Karnagaḍ 50.
 Karṇātakāḥ 106.
 karpataka 7.
 kārṣāpaṇa 94.
 kārtāntika 84.
 kārūkāveśana 48.
 karvataka 27; 29.
 karvāṭikā 29.
 Kāsi 116 fn.
 Kasiā 64.
 Kāsi-Kosalagā 72.
 Kāṣṭha 47.
 kāṣṭhakarmānta 39; 44.
 Kathākośa 76; 150 fn.
 Kathāsaritsāgara 17; 20; 75;
 79 fn.
 kauṭumbika 79; 82.
 kāvāṭikā 7.
 kavisīsa 31.
 kavvada 7.
 Keith 82; 181 fn; 242 fn;
 245 fn; 247 fn; 249 fn;
 250 fn.
 Kern 23; 33 fn; 121 fn; 199
 fn.
 khadayam 27.
 khahayarā 36 fn.
 Khambhat, the Gulf of, 17-fn;
 kharvata 26.
 kharvāṭika 7.
 khāṭaka 33.
 kheda 6.
 Kheṭa 25; 9 fn; 26 fn.
 khetaka 27; 29.
 khoḍaka 33.
 khoḍakaśirṣaka 33.
 khoṭakaśirṣa 33.
 khoṭaśirṣa 33; 53 fn.
 khoṭhaka 33.
 Kielhorn, F. 25; 81; 125 fn.
 king 90.
 Kirāta 100; 109; 110.
 Kirfel, W. 84 fn; 221 fn; 231
 fn.
 Kitāgiri 59; 116 fn.
 Klasse 150 fn.
 knap-sack 31 fn.
 koḍumbiya 79; 169 fn.
 Koepfen. 140 fn.
 Kollāga 53; 54.
 Kolluā 97 fn.
 Konow 187 fn; 248 fn.
 Kośalaka 49.
 kośas 68; 112.
 koṭ 38 fn.
 koṭaśirṣa 33.
 Koṭigāma 54
 koṭṭa 24; 29.
 koṭṭadurga 28.
 koṭṭapāla 38 fn.
 koṭṭarāja 38 fn.
 kramaśirṣa 33; 53 fn.
 kravyaśirṣa 32; 33.
 kṣatriya 70.
 Kṣemendra 86; 150 fn.
 kṣudrapattana 7.
 Ktesias 100.
 kulas 80.
 Kulluka 39; 40; 73 fn; 145
 fn.
 kunagara 7.
 Kuṇḍagāma 52; 53.
 Kuṇḍapura 52.

Kūṇika 93.
 kupyādhyakṣa 44.
 Kuraghara 110 fn.
 Kuśinagara 64.
 Kusinagara 64.
 Kusinārā 64; 65; 68.
Kūṭadanta-Sutta 31 fn.
 kuṭṭima 32.
 kuṭṭimabheda 32.
 kuṭumbas 80.
 kuṭumbika 80.
 Kuṭumbin 80.

L

Lakuśā 104.
 Lampāka 248 fn;
 Laṅkā 37.
 Lausā 104.
 Lausiyā 104.
 Law 157 fn.
 leader of a gaṇa 71.
 leṇas 46.
 Leumann 6; 8; 70; 79; 100;
 122 fn; 209 fn; 220 fn;
 223 fn; 229 fn.
 Lévi 108 fn; 110 fn; 121 fn;
 231 fn; 248 fn.
 Lexicographical literature 30.
 Lhasiya (Lhāsiya) 103.
 Licchavi 53; 54; 70; 72.
 Licchaviputra 70.
Life of Buddha 100 fn; 122 fn;
 124 fn.
 lintel 34.
 lipi 238 fn.
 liquor 42.
List (LUDERŚ) 8; 15; 16;
 40; 79; 88; 89; 91; 48 fn.
List of Brāhmī Inscriptions 6.
 literature, Brahmanical 112.

Local Government 16.
 Local Government 16; 67
 fn; 144 fn.
 lord 75.
 lord of kings 75.
 love-tax 82.
 Luderś 6; 8; 15; 40; 46; 79;
 88; 89; 91; 20 fn; 48 fn.

M

Macdonell 82; 181 fn; 242
 fn; 245 fn; 247; 249 fn;
 250 fn.
 maḍamba 8; 9; 29; 78.
 mūḍambika 78; 79; 92.
 māḍambiya 78.
 Magistrates 68.
Mahābhārata 19; 24; 26; 44;
 49; 101; 104; 105; 110;
 30 fn; 122 fn; 208 fn.
Mahābhāṣya 32; 212 fn.
 mahādaṇḍanāyaka 151 fn.
 mahāmanti 71; 82.
 mahāmantrin 82; 83; 92; 180
 fn.
 mahāmātra 83.
 mahāmātya 83.
Mahāmāyūrī 57; 62; 104.
Mahāparinibbāṇasutta 34.
 mahāpratihāra 84.
 Mahārāṣṭrāḥ 106.
 mahāsenāpati 90.
Mahāsudassanasutta 34.
 mahāthera 45.
 mahattara 96.
Mahāvagga 54; 55; 58; 61; 65;
 117 fn.
 Mahāvīra 50; 51; 52; 54; 65;
 66; 67; 68; 94; 95; 103;
 136 fn.

- Mahāvīryūtpatti* 29; 33; 35; 42;
 46; 74; 75; 99; 38 fn; 81
 fn; 166 fn.
Mahendrapāladeva (Mahā-
 rāja) 63.
mahiṣi 96.
maintenance 94.
Majjhimanikāya 69, 65: 31 fn;
 81 fn; 107 fn; 119 fn.
Majumdar (R. C.) 16; 23;
 40; 71.
Mālarikāgnimitra 10.
Malla 15: 66; 70; 72.
Malla-knight 68.
Malla-Pavā 66.
Malla-territory 68.
Mallin Pukkusa 65.
man 142 fn.
manica 23.
maṇḍala 75.
Māṇḍalika 75.
maṇḍalīkarāja 75.
maṇḍapa 8.
maṇḍapa-maṇḍapika 79.
Mandara 35.
māṇḍavi 79.
Mānjhi 51.
Maṅkhakośa 12; 28; 32; 33;
 42.
Maṇḍapa 8.
manti 82.
mantrin 82; 83.
mantripariṣadadhyakṣa 178
 fn.
Manual of Buddhism 57; 59;
 67; 117 fn; 121 fn.
Manusmṛti 4; 39; 46; 48; 73;
 105; 24 fn; 73 fn; 145 fn.
Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa 27; 45;
 110; 218 fn.
- market, covered, 41.
Marshall 151 fn.
Marundai 110.
maṇḍamba 14 fn.
Materia Medica 76 fn.
Ma-teu-an-din 108.
matissaciva 177 fn.
Matsyapurāṇa 37.
mauhūrtika 84.
Mauṛya-epoch 95.
Medinikoya 86; 100.
Megasthenes 216 fn; 248
 fn.
Meissner 172 fn.
mekhalā 42.
Melanges 248 fn.
merchandise 81.
merchants 20.
merchants, rich 88.
merchants, wholesale 91.
military corps 71.
military functionary 74.
mine 32.
minister of peace 91.
Miscellaneous Essays 140 fn.
Mitākṣarā 4; 7; 17.
Mithilā 49; 54; 56.
Mlecchas 111.
Moharājoparājaya 17.
Molindae 248 fn.
money 81.
Mookerji 16; 40; 71.
Mṛcchakaṭika 32.
Mṛtapa 44.
mukhyamantrin 83.
Mūla-Sarvāstivādin 62.
mule-tracks 22.
Munisundara 171 fn.
murunda 248 fn.
Murundi 108.

mūrvā 42.

Muzaffarpur 51.

N

naara 87.

nagara 5; 25; 26; 27; 28; 29; 36;
40; 52; 61; 87; 88; 26 fn;
31 fn.

nāgara 87.

nagaradvāra 35.

nagaraguptika 36.

nagaraguttika 36.

nagaraguttiya 36; 87; 93.

nagarakheta 6.

nagara-setthi 86.

nagara-sreṣṭhin 88; 89.

nagarī 28; 29.

Nagar-Sheth 88; 198 fn.

naigama 14; 15; 16; 17; 86.

Naik-kingdom 77.

naimittika 84.

Nālanda 49; 52; 55; 67.

nandyāvarta 37.

nāpita 86.

Nāradaśmṛti 4; 5; 17.

Nāsik-Cave-inscription 75.

Nāsikyās 102.

Nātaputta 65.

Naturalis Historica 109; 248
fn.

Navadevakula 59.

Nāya-clan 53.

nāyaka 74; 86; 191 fn.

nayara 87.

Nāyaputta 52.

nectar 42.

negama 13; 16.

nekama 16.

Nemicaandra 99; 104; 111;
141 fn.

Nepal hills 66.

noutram 75 fn.

Newal 59.

nigama 13; 14; 15; 17; 87;
88; 89; 41 fn; 199 fn.

nigamāgamo 41 fn.

nigamaghāṭa 41 fn.

nigama, inhabitant of 17.

nigamaputa 16; 20 fn.

nigama-setthi 86.

nigama-sreṣṭhin 88.

Nilakaṇṭha 24; 44; 49; 86;
30 fn.

nimna 36 fn.

nirājana-ceremony 45.

Nirayāvaliāo 99.

Nitisāra 25; 74; 75; 177 fn.

Nitivākyāmrta 83; 91.

niveśa 14.

Noldeke 103.

notabilities 84.

O

officials 83; 84; 112.

officials, civil 92.

Officials, king's 93.

Officials, military 92.

Oldenberg 34.

Olshausen 103.

Oppert 42.

Oppian 248 fn.

Otto Walter 49 fn.

Ou-lun 108.

P

paccaka-grass 43.

Padacandrikā 15.

Pādamūlika 85.

pāgara 31.

pahlava 103; 109.

- Pāiyalacchī* 27.
 pakkapa 107; 110.
 Pakkaṇi 107.
 pakvaṇa 107.
 Pakvaṇi 107.
 Paleza Ghāt 51.
 Pāli-Dictionary 22.
 palli 19; 20; 80; 81.
 pallighoṣa 26.
 pallipati 20.
Pañcākhyāna 43b.
Pañcākhyānaka 41 fn.
Pañcatantra 35; 81, 147 fn.
 Pāṇini 6; 32.
 Paṇitabhūmi 49; 62.
 Paniyabhūmi 63.
 Pāṇiyakagrāma 63.
 Pannakālaḡa 62.
 paṇyāḡara 41.
 paṇyāḡarika 41.
 paṇyagṛha 39; 40; 41; 47.
 paṇyapattana 16 fn.
 paṇyapattana 16 fn.
 paṇyāsāla 40; 41; 48.
 Pāpā 49; 63; 66.
 pappaka 43.
 pappakammamta 39; 43.
 Pappaur 64.
Paramatthajātaka 61; 107 fn.
 Pārasavas 109; 110.
 Pārasika 109.
 Pārasis 108.
 Pargiter 110; 218 fn; 247 fn.
 parikhā 32; 36.
 pariṣat 22.
Parisiṣṭaparvan 81.
 Pārsu 109.
 parthava 103.
 Parvata durga 24 fn.
 pasatthar 70.
 pasatthāra 90.
 Pasenadi 58; 60.
 pasture-land 20.
 Pāsūpatas 17.
 Pāṭalimiṭra 84 fn.
 Pāṭaliputra 50; 57.
 Patañjali 25; 30; 32.
Pātimokkha 34.
 pattam 27.
 pattana 9; 11; 29.
 pattanāḡara 6.
 pattapa 9; 11; 14; 26; 27;
 28; 29; 16 fn; 26 fn;
 30 fn.
 Paulkasa 245 fn.
 Pausiyā 102.
 pauttivānya 94.
 pavākarapa 39; 40.
 Pāvā 63; 64; 65; 66; 68; 136
 fn; 140 fn.
 Pāvāpura 64.
 Paveyyaka 66.
 pavittivānya 95.
 peace and war, minister of
 91.
 pearl-fisher-station 10.
 perfume 38; 45.
Periplus of the Erythrean Sea
 11.
 Persians 109.
 Peterson 14; 252 fn.
 phaliha 31.
 Philostratos 20.
 philegm 9 fn.
 piḡhamadda 85.
 Pietism 96.
 pilgrims, chinese 110.
 pillar-edict 40.

Fischel 77; 89; 10 fn; 193
 'fn; 214 fn.
 pīṭha 85.
 pīṭhamarda 85; 86; 92; 191
 fn.
 plant 42.
 Plinius 109; 248 fn.
 police-man 150 fn.
 polce-master 73; 150 fn.
 police, the head of, 77.
 porch 8.
Prajñāpanā 98; 103; 104.
 prākāra 5; 6; 32; 33; 34; 36.
Prākṛit grammar 100; 214 fn.
Prākṛit Grammatik, 89; 10 fn;
 193 fn.
 Prākṛit-inscriptions 89.
 prakṛti 71.
 prakṛti-mahattarā 71.
 prapā 40; 47; 48; 74 fn.
 prapāvika 40.
 Prasastṛ 70.
Praśnavyākaraṇasūtra 8.
Praśnavyākaraṇasūtaravyāk-
hyāna 11; 24 fn.
 pratihāra 84.
 pratodadhārakā 93.
 pratodayaṣṭi 93; 207 fn.
Pravacanasāroddhāra 99;
 104; 111; 141 fn.
 pravṛttivyāpṛta 94.
 prekṣaṇa 48.
 presents 82; 94.
 prickle-staff 207 fn.
 prītidāna 94.
 Pṛṣṭhicampā 49; 50.
 Ptolemaios 11; 109; 110;
 248 fn.
 Pukkali 107.
 pukkasa 45; 107.
 Pulinda 20; 108; 109; 110.

Pulindai Agriophagoi 110.
 Pulindis 106.
 Pulkasa 107.
 Punabbasū 116 fn.
 Puṇḍra 108.
 pura 26; 27; 29; 26 fn.
Purāṇas 26; 30; 50; 68; 101;
 102; 111; 112.
 puraviśeṣaḥ 16 fn.
 purī 29.
Pūrṇabhadra 35; 41 fn;
 43b.
Pūrṇabhadra-caitya 68.
Puṣkarasārin 12.
 puta 31 fn.
 putabhedana 15; 20; 22; 28;
 29; 16 fn; 31 fn.
 puṭāmśa 31 fn.
 puṭosenāpi 31 fn.

R

Raghuvamśa 32.
 rāisara 75.
 rājā 68.
 rājadhānī 28; 29.
Rājagrha 49; 52; 55; 56; 58;
 59; 60; 66; 67; 140 fn.
 rājakula 35.
 rājamārga 31.
 rājanya 70.
Rājapraśnīya 34; 100.
Rājapraśnīya-comm 8; 11.
 rājapriya 86.
 rājaputra 20 fn.
Rājatarangiṇī 5; 17; 74; 83;
 84; 91.
 rājeśvara 75.
 Rājgīr 55.
 rajjusabhā 136 fn.
 rājyasandhirakṣaka 91.

- Rājyatantra 73.
 Rāmāīramī 9.
 Rāmāyāṇa 14; 17; 19; 32; 35;
 37; 41; 44; 56; 101; 101;
 105.
 Rapson 227 fn.
 Rāṣṭravāsi 106.
 rāṣṭrika 79.
 rathacaryā 31.
 rathavinitā 60.
 rathin 86.
 Ratnayoni 9.
 rattha 61.
 ratthika 79.
 Rāvaṇa 41.
 rawāri 13.
 rāyahāṇī 17.
 reconciliator, of angry women
 86.
 reed-grass 43.
 relay-posts 60.
 religious-community 71.
 retinue 96.
 Rhys Davids 11; 34; 51; 134
 fn.
 Rhys Davids (Mrs.) 88.
 rice-bowl 67.
 Rīṣṭika 101.
 Rock-edict 22.
 Rock-edict, of Aśoka 105.
 Rockhill, W.W. 100 fn; 107
 fn; 122 fn; 124 fn.
 Rṣabha 52.
 Rṣikā 101; 110.
 Rūdradāman 82; 177 fn.
 rukkhamaṇa 81 fn.
 S
 Śabara 109; 110.
 Śabari 108.
 Ś'abdacandrikā 32.
 Ś'abdalpādruma 12; 32.
 sabhā 39; 40; 47; 48.
 Ś'ablakōṣa 33.
 Sachau 251 fn.
 Saciva 82; 177 fn.
 Śaila 47.
 Śailagrha 83 fn.
 Śailopasthānakarmānta 39.
 Sainphalas 103.
 Śakas 108.
 Śāketa 58; 60; 68.
 Śākhānagara 27.
 Śākhāpura 28.
 Sakka 96.
 Sakka-country 65; 66.
 Ś'ākuntala 100.
 Sāmagāma 65.
 Samāja 22; 23; 29; 48.
 Samājiko 22.
 samajjā 22.
 Samāya 22; 23.
 Samayamātrkā 86.
 sambādha 18.
 Sambāha 18.
 Samdhigrha 47.
 samghoṣa 27.
 Samniveśa 27.
 samstyāyas 25.
 Samudrāgupta 108.
 samvāha 17; 18; 19; 25 fn.
 samvarta 24.
 Samvartakoṭṭa 24.
 Sāñchi-Stūpa-Inscription 110
 fn.
 sanctuaries 39.
 sandhipāla 91.
 sāndhivigrāhaka 91.
 sāndhivigrāhika 91.
 Sañjaya 110.

- Sanniveśa 13.
 Sanseviera Rox burghiana 42.
 śānti 39; 47.
 Śāntyāgāra 45.
 sāranda 54.
 sārtha 24.
 sārthanāyaka 90.
 sārthavāha 89; 90.
 S'āśvata 27; 39; 42.
 S'atapatha 45; 77 fn.
 Sattambaka 54.
 Sattāsāi 76.
 satthavāha 90; 91.
 śāvarādhīpa 20.
 Sāvatti 60; 68; 117 fn.
 S. B. B. 17; 49; 52; 31 fn;
 36 fn; 39 fn; 54 fn; 55
 fn; 60 fn; 91 fn; 227 fn.
 Schmidt 150 fn; 161 fn;
 189 fn.
 Scholion 76.
 Schubring 20.
 Seal-inscriptions 16.
 Seḍhi 89; 203 fn.
 Sejjamsa 53.
 selaghara 83 fn.
 senānāyaka 74.
 senāpati 74; 89; 90; 202 fn;
 204 fn.
 senāskandhāvāra 23.
 senāvaī 70; 85; 89; 90.
 senīvai 89; 90.
 Seṇiya 90.
 Seṇiya Bimbisāra 56.
 sergeant 70.
 servant-girls 97.
 seṭhipamukha 88.
 seṭṭhi 85; 87; 88; 89; 203 fn.
 settlements 24; 25; 26; 29; 112.
 Shā-che 58; 59; 60.
 Shāmasāstry 22.
 shodaka 33.
 Siddhānta 26; 76; 111.
 Siddhartha 53; 54; 68.
 Siddhasenasūri 111.
 Simhala 109; 110.
 Simhaladvīpa 106.
 Simhali 106.
 Sinthali 106.
 siṣṭi 89.
 siṭṭhi 89.
 Śivaskandhavarman 5; 29; 14
 fn; 48 fn.
 skandhāvāra 28; 29.
 slave 85.
 Slave-girls 112.
 śmaśāna 44; 45; 77 fn; 79 fn.
 śmaśānādhikārin 44.
 śmaśānakarmānta 39; 44; 45.
 Smith 20; 51; 58; 59; 63; 64;
 34 fn; 85 fn; 90 fn; 111
 fn; 117 fn; 133 fn; 211 fn.
 Snuhī 42.
 Soliers 70.
 Somadevasūri 83.
 Soṇadantasutta 31 fn.
 sorcerers 44.
 Sorensen. 246 fn.
 SPA 20 fn.
 specials 93.
 Spooner 105 fn.
 spurge 42.
 spy 83.
 Śrāvastī 49; 53; 54; 56; 57; 58;
 59; 60; 63; 65; 116 fn.
 Śrāvastī-bhukti 63.
 śreṇī 89; 203 fn.
 Śreṇika 90.
 Śreṇika Bimbisāra 57.
 śreṇimukha 90.
 śreṇīpati 89; 90.

- śreṣṭhin 89; 203 fn.
 Śrī 89.
 Śrīnālānda 55.
 State-officials 68.
 stay 45.
 sthala 23; 36 fn.
 sthantya 22; 28; 29.
 store-house 41; 83.
Studies in Ancient Hindu
Polity 234 fn.
 Subhadrā 96.
 substitutes of the king. 73.
 suci 199 fn.
 Suddhodana 68.
 sudhā 42; 47.
 sudhākarmānta 39; 42.
 Śulakṣaptatī 76; 150 fn.
 Śūlapāni 49.
 Sundarakāṇḍa 38.
 suññāgāra 82 fn.
 sūnyāgāra 39; 45; 46.
 sūnyālaya 81 fn.
 supattana 15 fn.
 surākarmānta 42.
 susānagopaka 45; 79 fn.
 susānagopikā 41.
 Sūtrakṛt 12; 17; 25; 43; 52;
 53; 82 fn.
 Sūtrakṛt (Dīpikā) 1; 2; 3; 5;
 6; 7; 9; 11; 13; 14.
 Sūtra stylo 24.
 Suttanipāta 61; 62; 68.
 Suttaribhāga 35.
 svastika 37; 38.
 S W A 31 fn; 37 fn; 154 fn;
 177 fn; 179 fn; 182 fn; 184
 fn; 186 fn; 204 fn; 205 fn.
 sword 77.

 T
 Tailangāḥ 106.
 tala 77.
 talāra 76; 77.
 talārakṣa 76; 77.
 talāraputta 76.
 talārīka 76.
 talavara 76; 77; 78; 92.
 talavāra 77.
 talavāri 77.
 talayāris 77.
 talvār 77.
 Tāmalīptikā 49.
 Tambapūmni 106.
 Tāmraparpi 106.
 tantradhāra 73.
 Tantrākhyāna 30; 35; 73.
 Tanvākhyāyikā 27; 81; 12 fn;
 171 fn.
 tantrapāla 73.
 tarabālikā 77.
 Taravara 166 fn.
 taravāri 77; 78; 166 fn.
 tarwāl 78.
 Tathāgata 44.
 Tawney 150 fn; 162 fn.
 tax 5; 81; 82.
 templo 39; 45.
 thalayārā 36 fn.
 theatre 23; 35 fn.
The Cambridge History of
India 135 fn; 241 fn.
 Theragāthā 3.
 Thomas, F. W. 22; 23.
 threshold 34; 35.
 timber-construction 41.
 tīrthas 84.
 tīrttika 67.
 titles, of officials 112.
 toll 22.
 toraṇa 31; 32; 36.
 toraṇasīra 31; 32; 36.
 town 8; 14; 15; 21; 38; 87
 16 fn; 31 fn.

Town Authorities 36.
 town, fortified, 36.
 town-officer 36.
 town, of the śreṣṭhis, 16.
 town, sons of, 16.
 trade, board of, 16.
 trade-place 16 fn; 31 fn.
 trader 14; 16; 87.
 trade-routes 22.
 trader, pious 199 fn.
 traders, body of, 16; 17; 20 fn.
 trader's place 15; 17; 87.
 traders, wealthy 198 fn.
Travels 59.
 tree 42.
 tribes, of India 111.
 tribute 81.
Trikūṇḍakeśa 11; 33.
Triśalā 54.
tūpapuraṃ 28.

U

Udānam 31 fn.
Udena 54.
Ueber das Kauṭīliya śāstr 149
 fn.
Ulloca 64 fn.
Ulloya 64 fn.
Uṇḍigaṇa-ūtra 166 fn.
Upadeśaratnākara 171 fn.
Upāli 67.
Upasthāna 45.
upasthānakarmānta 45; 47.
Uttarādhyayana 1; 3; 5; 6;
 7; 19; 20; 22; 23; 24;
 25; 30; 31; 52.
Uttarādhyayana-comun. 8; 9;
 11; 12; 13; 14; 17; 18.
Uttarādhyayana (trans.) 37.
Uvāsagadasūo, translation of,

13; 42; 52; 53; 58; 90; 113
 fn; 123 fn; 138 fn.

V

Vācaspati 7; 12; 14; 16 fn.
vaddha 43.
vaddhakammaṃta 39; 43.
Vādirājasūri 150 fn.
vāhana 93.
vāhanaśālā 93.
Vāhlikas 110.
Vaijayanṭi 39; 42; 48; 86;
 104; 16 fn; 31 fn; 166
 fn; 248 fn.
Vaiśālī 49; 50; 51; 52; 54; 55.
Vaiśālīan 52; 54.
Vaiśālīka 53.
vājiśālā 48.
Vajrabhūmi 62.
Vakusikā 102.
Valabhi 101.
Vālyikā-viśaya 63.
valet 85.
Vallabhīyā 101.
Vanasthānas 26.
Vāṇijagrāma 49; 50; 53; 54.
vanikputra 20 fn.
Vāṇiyagāma 52; 55.
vappa 31.
vapra 5; 31; 32.
var 77.
Varāhamihira 35; 37; 45;
 49; 71; 74; 75; 100; 110.
vāra 77.
Varanā 104.
Vardhamāna 38; 49; 50.
vardhamānagrha 37.
Vardhamāna Mahāvīra 62 fn.
Vardhamānapura 49; 84 fn.
varisavara 96.
Vāsagaṇiyā 102.
Vasikas 102.

Vāsithiputa Siri Puṣumāyi 75;
79; 86; 105.

Vāyu Purāṇa 110; 26 fn.

Vausi 102.

vedana 94.

Vedic Index 181; 173 fn; 242
fn.

Vedic texts 107.

veh.cles, official of. 93.

Venkaṭasubb ah 48 fn.

*Verzeichnis der Sanskrit und
Präkrit-Handschriften
der Königl. Bibliothek* 92
fn; 158 fn; 159 fn; 210
fn; 252 fn.

Vesāli 50; 52; 53; 54; 65.

veśamadyānnavikraya 48.

Veśyācārya 84; 86.

Vest, W 51; 112 fn; 117 fn.

Veṭṭāpañcaviṃśati 44.

vetana 94.

Veṭṭadīpa 64; 130 fn.

Videhadattā 54.

vihāra 22.

Vijayanagara 74.

village 8.

Village Authorities 36.

village guild 89.

Vinaya 62

Vindhyadakṣinavāsinaḥ 106.

Vīramitrodaya 5.

Virāṭa 86.

Viṣṇu Purāṇa 110; 24 fn.

viṭa 188 fn.

Vivāharatnākara 5.

Voey 63.

Vokkāṇa 110.

vraja 27.

vṛddha 75 fn.

W

wall, top edge of, 32.

ware-house 41.

watchman 77.

water clock 15 fn.

water-ways 22.

weapons 31.

Weber, A. 52; 77; 78; 100;
101; 107; 158 fn; 159 fn;
169 fn; 210 fn; 212 fn;
215 fn; 219 fn; 222 fn;
229 fn; 230 fn; 232 fn;
233 fn; 236 fn; 239 fn;
243 fn; 252 fn; 253 fn.

Weiler 20.

wells 40.

whitewash 42.

Winternitz 108 fn; 207 fn.

wooden structure 41.

workshop 39.

Y

Yājñavalkya Smṛti 4; 7.

Yajurveda 83.

Yale Review 195 fn.

yānaśūlā 39; 41; 47.

yānaśūlika 93.

Yaśaḥpāla 17.

Yaśodharacarita 150 fn.

yavanas 110.

yavanikā 102.

yodha 70.

young grass 74 fn.

yuvamahārāja 48 fn.

juvarāja 75.

Z

Zachariae 12; 28; 33; 42;
64 fn; 149 fn.

ZDMG 20 fn; 27 fn; 29 fn;
163 fn; 199 fn.

Zimmer 81.

JAINA SAHITYA SAMSODHAKA-STUDIES
***** No. 3 *****

THE JINIST STUDIES

BY

Dr. OTTO STEIN, Ph. D.

EDITED BY

JINA VIJAYA MUNI

Hon. Director, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay)

125
WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF

Dr. A. S. GOPANI, M. A., Ph. D.

(Lecturer of Ardhamagadhi, M. M. Arts College and
N. M. Institute of Science, Andheri)

PUBLISHED BY

JAINA SAHITYA SAMSODHAKA PRATIṢṬHAN

(ANEKANT VIHAR

NAVARANGPURA, AHMEDABAD

SOLE AGENTS

GURJARA GRANTHARATNA KARYALAYA

GANDHI ROAD, AHMEDABAD



[2004]

Price: Five Rupees

[1948 A. D.]